

American SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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SOME REFLECTIONS ON SOCIOLOGY DURING A CRISIS¹

ROBERT M. MACIVER

Columbia University

WHEN a storm shakes the house, we grow concerned for the foundations. When a crisis challenges our routines, we are forced to think back to the values on which they rest. We may cling to these values more tenaciously or we may break loose from them. In any event, we must reevaluate. This holds for our intellectual values no less than for the rest. Our scholarship, our learning, our research, how do they look against the background of a time when small and great states crumble, when across the seas the skies are filled with death, when profound uncertainties divide today from tomorrow, when the destinies of peoples everywhere are in the balance? These mighty issues besiege us on every side. What then of the issues to which we devote our workday lives, we scholars who have the peculiar freedom of deciding for ourselves our own intellectual tasks? It is because we have this freedom that we are troubled. I have heard some scholars say that in these days their work seems insignificant and futile, that they have no longer the heart to pursue it. Perhaps we might impertinently ask the further question: what is it worth at any other time if it loses its worth in times like these?

The question becomes now permissible when the grip of routine is loosened, so that we dare to look at the value of the things we do. Nothing is any longer justified by the sacred habit of doing it. What then are the values served by our science? How are we pursuing, how far are we achieving them? There is the knowledge that is illumination, enabling us to understand things; and there is the knowledge that is skill, enabling us to do things. Learning may not provide either illumination or skill, at least to any degree that counts. There are refinements of learning that pursue minutiae of past lores or chart the course of chimaeras bombinating in the

¹ Presidential address to the Thirty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, Chicago, Illinois, Dec. 27, 1940.

void. There is laborious research that rediscovers the obvious or discovers nothing at all. But unless learning gives us the knowledge that is illumination or the knowledge that is skill, it is vanity or vexation of spirit. We do not need to choose between these goals. Each has its binding claim upon us. To understand things is to live in a larger world, to conquer prejudice and superstition and darkness, to come to terms with the encompassing reality, to employ the unique gift of conscious being. To achieve skills is to gain potential mastery over our lot, to attack with hopes of victory the many problems and ills that beset us. But skills without understanding are blind, and understanding is impotent without skills.

Since we last met, we have lived through a year of cumulative crisis, crisis that has come ever nearer to us. None of us can have wholly escaped the question: how does our subject meet the test? In this time of intense appraisal, what seems its worth? When all boundaries are changing, are its boundaries enlarged or narrowed? What are we doing as sociologists? What values are we upholding or advancing—values that belong to the area of knowledge we have taken for our own? What are we contributing, as sociologists, either to the intellectual or to the practical needs of this distracted age? Often during the past year, this question has pierced through the preoccupations of the hour. In putting before you something of my own response, I shall confine myself to certain central issues. There are important tasks of sociology that it shares with economics and politics and law and the sciences of the cultural life. With these I shall not here be concerned. There are also important tasks of sociology that link it to the immediate practical problems of a nation arming itself against crisis. These are now being studied by a special committee of the Society, and I believe its labors will be fruitful. With these tasks, I shall not here be concerned.

Instead, I want to turn your thoughts to certain areas of sociological investigation where the crisis convicts us of neglected opportunities, to vast areas unpossessed by us and unexplored, though our own flag and no other flies over them. What is more remarkable about a time of crisis than the revelations it offers concerning the social nature of man? When men are detached from their social moorings, when they are subject to catastrophic changes of fortune, when every hour contains the final alternatives of life and death, when the young are more mortal than the old, when millions of males are segregated into unisexual camps, when responsibilities are suddenly intensified and abruptly transformed, when many social ties are broken, when one imperative demand silences all the rest—when such things happen, the foundations of human society are exposed. We can discern something of what has happened in man, the cunning herd animal, in the deep-working processes that have led from the Cyclopean family to this stage of our civilization. The delusive multicolored play of his surface valuations is swept aside. We watch the testing of the tensile strength of his

social cohesion; we can learn its endurance limits. We discover how his obdurate social emotions combine with his fierce egoisms. We discover how group identification sustains his private being, sustains not only his prouder loyalties but also his most petty ambitions. We observe how, when these are together threatened, he retreats in panic back to the herd, abandoning his individuality, eagerly accepting whatever messiah promises, at whatever price, the healing of his trauma, the restoration of his solidarity.

These are phenomena of profound sociological significance. To investigate them, to seek to comprehend them, should be a splendid enterprise, at once illuminating and eminently serviceable. I can imagine no knowledge that, if thoroughly grasped and widely diffused, could offer greater guidance to the leaders of men. We investigate what happens in the heart of the atom, we investigate what happens in the heart of distant suns, but we do so little genuinely to investigate what happens in the heart of man. Because we do not know or even care to know, our policies, our stratagems, our treaties, our controls, bring often the most unexpected and disastrous consequences to ourselves. What a record of miscalculation has been the political history of the last three decades! How little the guides and advisers foresaw, how little they understood! These decades do not stand alone. It is the history of political man repeating itself in our age. Men seem to learn every other lesson more quickly than how to deal intelligently, on the larger political scale, with their fellowmen. I am not dreaming of any utopia in which conflict will cease. I am merely suggesting that much of the actual conflict is misguided and ruinous, because of a lack of foresight, a lack of understanding, such as men do not display in the conduct of their other affairs. And the understanding that is most lacking is the understanding that sociology should and can provide. For it is the understanding of social relationships, of the social values men cherish, of their tribal gods and idols, of their responses to controls, of their long-run reactions to indoctrinations, of the tides of opinion, of the constancy and fickleness of mass emotions, of the consequences to the ingroup of treating the outgroup thus and thus.

Here are some of the major problems of sociology, and my reflections during the past year have often turned around the question: what are we doing to investigate them? We are the scientific fiduciaries of a great enterprise. Are we big enough for the job? Do we realize its greatness and our responsibility? Are we gearing ourselves to it as best we can? Or do we spend too much time disputing over little things or empty things? Do we vex ourselves overmuch with methodological quarrels and ignore the major tasks to which our methods should be applied? Have we enough to show for our diligent and often expensive researching? What do we do with the piles of data we collect? Are we asking significant questions and seeking significant answers? Is there some danger that we sprawl over half the universe of

knowledge and do not concentrate on our proper and urgent business?

I would bring to your attention some of these neglected tasks, selecting them because either their character or their practical importance is peculiarly revealed in times of crisis.

At the head of my list is the study of what I shall call social images. The first great philosopher of science spoke of the invisible idols men erect and worship. Three of his four orders of idols were socially created, the idols of the tribe, the idols of the market-place, and the idols of the theater. These images have frequently been exorcized by the logician and the philosopher, and more recently they have been described by the historian and in some part by the psychologist. A few sociologists, like Pareto, Veblen, and Thurman Arnold, have dealt with them in some fashion. But little enough has been done by way of the direct investigation of them. It is the business of the other sciences to eschew these idols; it is the business of the social sciences to study them. They are among the most portentous phenomena of social life. They are so powerful that at this hour, in most lands, men do not dare to look them in the face, so powerful that they make all science bow before them and furnish the technological aids they require for their greater power and glory. In all countries, they are enthroned and command allegiance. For these social images are more than idols—they are the projection of our social values, of our group and national solidarities, of the things that bind us and divide us also, group from group, nation from nation.

How then should we study them and to what end? The role of science is not to reevaluate or to devalue our primary values. It is concerned with the verifiable, the discoverable relations between phenomena and systems of phenomena. If our primary values lived in a realm of their own and were content to let science find and follow its own truth, there would be no issue between them and science. But our dynamic impulses, striving to change the world, often lead us to misinterpret it, to distort or to deny the verifiable. One remarkable feature of our own times is the manner in which these controlling value-systems have enlisted the last advances of technology to make their idols secure against investigation, to suppress all science that is unfavorable to their claims, to instil scientifically untenable doctrines of race and nationality and the social order. They take history away from the historians, anthropology from the anthropologists, social biology from the biologists, and sociology from the sociologists. Some of the priests who guard these images are bold enough to tell us that myth and fable are better than truth, that we live by our sacred illusions, that the darkness is preferable to the light.

Against that faith stands the faith of science, that in the end truth serves mankind better than does falsehood or ignorance. Perhaps we social scientists can profess a further article of that simple creed, affirming that it is the dark and distorted images which nations have created that are a main

cause of the present plight of our civilization. At least, we must raise the question whether the time is not fully ripe for the turning of the light of science on our sanctified prejudices, cherished delusions, and obsolete traditions. What science can do in this regard is not to evaluate our social images but to bring them into closer correspondence with social realities. It is a tremendous task, but I shall suggest only one aspect of it.

At the outset, let us distinguish two kinds of social image. Some of our images are representations, generally skewed by our interests and emotions, but nevertheless accepted representations of existent things. Others are nonrepresentative expressions of our dynamic values. The latter do not mirror, even distortedly, any evidential datum or system of data that the scientist can investigate. They are in that sense wholly subjective, though of course none the less important on that account. Both kinds of social image seem necessary for our social life. To the second order, the non-representative, belong such concepts as honor, glory, prestige, purity, right, justice, loyalty, shame, duty. To the first order belong a motley array of ascriptions, denoted by such words as capitalism, communism, democracy, the "New Order" in Europe, the Nordic, the Jew, the alien, the rustic, Hollywood, New York City, the Middle West, Methodism, Roman Catholicism, the fair sex, and so forth. Each group sets up images of itself and of the counter group, and the like-named images of different groups, though they purport to represent the same actualities, bear not the remotest resemblance to one another. Compare, for example, the socialist images of capitalism and of socialism with the capitalist images of socialism and of capitalism. Sometimes there would be a remarkable resemblance between the images of counter groups if we could only change around the labels attached by one or the other of them. The Republican's image of a Democrat used to be mighty like the Democrat's image of a Republican. But I shall not enlarge on this interesting theme.

There can be no doubt that these social images play a most powerful role. That fact of itself should be enough to make them a principal object of sociological investigation. But there is the further fact that our images of the second order are often gross misrepresentations of things. When so, they can properly be called unscientific, a term that has no direct relevance to our images of the first order. If we have different notions about honor or duty or shame or the rights of man, there is no decisive appeal; but if we have different notions about race or nationality or sovereignty or trade unionism or economic planning, some part of our disagreement can be settled provided we are willing to look for and to accept the facts. Our misrepresentations, our distorted images, have increasingly become forces to tear the world asunder. If sociologists set themselves steadily to the task of investigating these images, they would be bringing science and human life together at the place where they are most apart, at the place where the

separation of them appears, in this age of ours, to be most perilous.

It is a progressive task that must be renewed, generation after generation. In some areas, we dare not yet attempt it. Yet much can even now be done. In one great field of exploration, that of the assessment and measurement of the changes of public opinion, there has already been established a successful and happy alliance between sociologists and statisticians. I should like to see that alliance at work on our social images. A few years ago, I had the opportunity to direct an investigation of the social images the people of Canada have built up with respect to the United States.² There is scarcely another international frontier in the wide world over which a similar investigation could have been carried without occasioning friction or arousing opposition. Scarcely anywhere else could the social images a people erects of a neighboring people have been faithfully surveyed as part of a program for the increase of international understanding. It was possible only because the two peoples are so closely bound by many ties. Even so, the image of the American people beheld by Canadians is strikingly different from the kind of image the American people beholds of itself. Our investigation threw light on the causes that made the images so different. It also threw light on the conditions of national image-making and image-changing. In a curious way, it is because human beings are so like other human beings that they see other groups and other peoples so differently from the way in which they see their own. The manner of seeing is similar but the angle of approach is different. Further international investigation of this sort must wait more favorable times. Meanwhile, there are other images in plenty for us to investigate, the counterimages of economic groups, of political parties, of sects, of class groups, of regional divisions, and so forth. The study of these would extend the basis of sociology, would contribute to social enlightenment, and would develop the skills with which in due season we could attack the strongest citadels of social prejudice.

Times of crisis reveal the role of our social images, but they reveal something more. They reveal the nature of social cohesion. On this knowledge must our science be built. To advance it is our primary task. Perhaps we are skirmishing too much along the edges of it and attacking too little at the center. How strong are the bonds that bind man to his fellowmen? Which snap first with increasing tension? Which endure longest? To what appeals are men most responsive, in the long run as well as in the short run? Under what conditions does ethnocentricity triumph over egocentricity, and vice versa? What social emotions are in control when men are ready to sacrifice their lives for a cause? How are these emotions strengthened

² Published under the title, *Canada and Her Great Neighbor*, ed. H. F. Angus, Toronto, 1938, being one of a series of Canadian-American studies under the general direction of James T. Shotwell and sponsored by the Division of Economics and History of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

and how are they weakened? How is morale fostered and how is it broken?

In times of crisis or of war, these questions are paramount. If we could grapple with them, the worth and the standing and the service of our science would be greatly enhanced. For the things we need to know to build the foundations of our science are also the things men need to know if they are to find some redemption from the blindness of their impulses, from the trampling herd spirit that so often overpowers them, from the evil omens of their distorted social images. Why should we leave these themes to the novelist and the dramatist, to the descriptive historian or to the philosopher? They have their own missions and we have ours. Ours is to establish, by sustained investigation and interpretation, a coherent body of knowledge in which the primary relations of man to man and of man to his groups will be revealed with amplitude of perception in the clear perspective of science. Has any science a grander task? Who shall deny its urgency?

Here, as elsewhere, knowledge must clarify need. We are midway between the guidance of instinct and the guidance of intelligence. Instinct suffices us no longer and the half-lights of interest mislead. Instinct, if I dare use the word, must furnish the dynamic while intelligence shows the direction. Why is it that, both for this generation and for the preceding, all the major schemes and stratagems of statesmen in the international arena have ended in nothing but disaster and disillusionment? It is because they left out of their calculations the sociopsychological factors. They calculated resources and forces, but they did not calculate the resources of defeat or the impotence of victory. They calculated economic and territorial gains and losses, but they did not calculate the consequences of economic privation or of political suppression. They did not comprehend the tenacity of loyalties and traditions, the resurgence of national unities, the responses of peoples to crises. Thus, they miscalculated, and today the miscalculations are proceeding on a yet grander scale. What statesmen and peoples lacked is social knowledge, the knowledge of the other side of human relationships. To provide this is the chief among the practical tasks of sociology.

On the whole, we have neglected our opportunities in this field. We have done but little to study the ways men divide and the ways they unite, all the long range from the unities men defend to the death to the divisions in the name of which they destroy one another. Take, for example, the subject of social stratification. Every group, every village, every city, every country, has its pattern of stratified relationships. We know something of the broad lines of stratification, but we have had few investigations of how they actually work. We have some studies of special problems, such as racial stratification in the South, but where shall we go if we want to learn what social class means in a town of New Hampshire or Pennsylvania or Illinois or Oregon? Where shall we go for intimate studies of the part played in this matter by churches and lodges and clubs and family groups? Mostly

to the novelists, not to the sociologists. And once again, the mission of the novelist is different from ours. Ours is to uncover and marshal the evidences, impartially examine them, patiently organize them, and, with the ceaseless vigilance of the disciplined imagination, explore and verify and interpret, reverify, reinterpret, and reexplore.

What I am pointing out is that we still have to make the first serious exploration of many areas of our proper territory. I could adduce various other evidences. Take, for example, the whole subject of the sociology of war which has received scarcely any specific investigation. But, mindful of my limits, I shall not push the argument further. I shall content myself instead with two concluding comments.

These great unexplored areas offer us no easy conquest. We have at times been too prone to think that the receipt for a successful grand-scale investigation consisted of, first, a financial angel to underwrite it, usually in the form of a foundation or a government agency; second, a director versed in the art of research organization; and, third, a competent gang of field workers. I am far from belittling any of these necessary aids. I am, however, claiming that they are not enough, that they alone will not carry us to our goal. This campaign calls for all our intellectual resources as well. We need sustained devotion and we need intellectual sweat. Some of our research borders too nearly on the mechanical. That kind will never advance this cause. There are those who say we are not yet ready to approach these large subjects. We must first devise the special tools, the techniques. But we have at our command the whole kit-bag of science, and where we need special tools of our own we must shape them as we proceed with our proper work. That is the way of science. That, I believe, is the true operationalism. Let us get on with the job, and in the process we shall make and improve the tools we need. There are already some fine achievements to our credit; many more await us.

So I come to my last point. I have been talking less of the things we have done than of the things we have left undone. The time of crisis reveals the unseized opportunities. But I present them as opportunities, as auguries of advance and not as witnesses of failure. It is well that we should recognize the vastness of our unclaimed heritage. It is well that we should see our subject in its nobler proportions. If its scale shrinks, it is only because we are shrunken. It is well that our younger scholars in particular should be aware of the challenge to achievement. If they realize it, the world will realize it, too. If they realize it, they will serve the world. The subjects we have been neglecting vitally concern this civilization of ours. Here is a more rewarding cause than many of those that engross us. The lively disputes of today become the dead records of tomorrow. But what we do to possess these areas of social knowledge will not be without effect on the making of tomorrow.

SCALING EXPERIENCE BY A MULTIPLE-RESPONSE TECHNIQUE: A STUDY OF WHITE-NEGRO CONTACTS

ROBERT N. FORD

University of Alabama

SOCIAL experience can be scaled. That is the major hypothesis of this paper.¹ In testing this hypothesis, the word experience has suffered certain restrictions: (1) we refer to the experiences which white Americans have had with Negroes; (2) we refer to experiences which evoke variable responses, depending upon the individual and his life situation; (3) we avoid references to experiences of a tabooed nature; and (4) we refer to the pencil marks placed upon paper by our subjects. Such pencil marks are not white-Negro experiences of course. Whether they symbolize such contacts, which is the problem of validity, will receive considerable attention here.

Three subsidiary hypotheses are examined in this paper: (1) the experiences which an individual reports as his own are generally the same as those he reports for his community; (2) attitude and experience are interdependent; and (3) lectures on race relations will not shift the mean experience scores of students, but they will shift attitude scores. In this work, attitude and experience will refer to scores assigned individuals as the result of their having selected answers on certain scales which purport to quantify these variables. Epistemological doubts, such as, "How accurate are recalls of experience," will be omitted from consideration here. Methodological doubts, such as the propriety of summing scores, will be omitted likewise from consideration at this time. Instead, available space will be devoted to describing, (I) the instrument designed to scale experience, (II) its reliability, (III) its validity, and (IV) the extent to which the hypotheses are sustained. The attitude scales employed are those of E. D. Hinckley² and E. S. Bogardus,³ and the experience scales constructed by the author which appear here for the first time.

Uses for Experience Scales. The chief value of such scales of experience, should they prove reliable and valid, lies in the opportunities afforded for checking our theories of the origins of attitude and for checking the interrelation between experience and attitude. Findings reported later show that experience and attitude are indeed positively correlated, in so far as we have

¹ I am greatly indebted to many people for aid in this research: at the University of Pittsburgh, to Alfred G. Dietze, Harold A. Phelps, M. C. Elmer, Verne C. Wright, D. B. Rogers, W. A. Lunden, and R. J. Munce; at Tulane University, to Harlan W. Gilmore; and at the University of Mississippi, to Paul B. Foreman. Parts of this research appear here for the first time. Other parts in extended form are on file as a Ph.D. thesis at the University of Pittsburgh.

² *Attitude Toward the Negro*, University of Chicago Press, L. L. Thurstone, Editor.

³ "A Social Distance Scale," *Sociol. and Soc. Res.*, 1933, 17: 265-271.

examined white-Negro contacts in our particular way. New scales could then be created to measure other areas of experience, such as religious experience, experience with intoxicants, etc., to determine whether the relation between attitude and experience is generally positive, whether it varies from social object to social object, whether direct experiences are more or less weighty than the indirect or community mediated experiences in determining attitude, whether there are sex differences involved, socioeconomic differences, etc. In this work, we may discover that careful case analyses of individuals whose experience scores differ widely from their attitude scores will be of especial value for developing sociological theory of the attitudes.

I. Constructing Experience Scales. The Experience Variable. Our experiences are, as every one knows, extremely variable. When one notices that Negroes have legs and arms and that they are dark in color, he probably feels no sharp emotional affect at all, but when Negroes greet us as "Boss," or when one "gets out of his place," we are likely to experience heightened emotion. We may interpret such contacts as more or less friendly in affect. If such emotional tone or affect is not discriminable in social situations, then the task of our judges, described later, is hopeless and the problem is insoluble in the manner proposed here.

In constructing experience scales, we become aware of the fact that there are many categories of experience. Thus, one may have had personal contacts with Negroes. He may have tormented Negro children in his youth. He may have lived in a community which treated Negroes in a friendly or unfriendly manner. Again, one's contacts may have been almost entirely secondary because no Negroes lived where he was reared. That person's knowledge of the Negro may have been gleaned chiefly from books, movies, and newspapers. Therefore, at least two experience scales appear to be necessary, one for estimating the friendliness or unfriendliness of personal contacts, and another for community mediated experiences. Within each scale, the individual must be given full opportunity to respond that he does not know the answers to certain questions because of lack of experience.

Methods for Scaling. In scaling brief statements of attitude, to which this problem is closely related, Thurstone's method of equal-appearing-intervals⁴ has proved of great value. That method was followed in this research. Although the scales which resulted proved reliable and valid according to usual criteria, certain difficulties arose which caused the researcher to turn to Likert's method,⁵ recently called the method of summated ratings.⁶

⁴ L. L. Thurstone, and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitude*, Chicago, 1929.

⁵ Rensis Likert, "A Technique for the Measurement of Attitudes," *Arch. Psychol.*, June, 1932, no. 140. The Thurstone type scales and a discussion of the difficulties encountered appear in a companion article, "Scaling White-Negro Experiences by the Method of Equal-Appearing Intervals," *Sociometry*, 1941, 4, no. 1.

⁶ Charles Bird, *Social Psychology*, 159, New York, 1940.

Preparing the Items. Many books and articles were read and notes were kept on situations involving Negroes and whites which seemed to indicate some emotional affect upon the part of the whites, such as, "I never shake hands with a Negro," and "In our community, Negro and white children often play together." Many friends were interviewed informally about their actual contacts with Negroes and how they felt toward the Negro as a result of those contacts. About 800 short written statements of contact like the above two were secured by this procedure.

In order to eliminate worthless items, the following criteria were set up. Items must (1) refer to social experience, (2) not be universally acceptable as experience, (3) be stated in generalized terms, (4) avoid tabooed subjects, and (5) avoid subjects which might be interpreted as damaging admissions. So far as the problems coincide, the criteria set up by Wang⁷ are helpful in the culling process.

All of the items were subjected to the above criteria. They were then divided into two groups on the basis of whether the experience was a direct personal one or was mediated through the community. Items which were duplicating in content, or nearly so, were eliminated. Those which remained were cast into question form and a variety of responses was provided for each question. At this point, we insert the completed scales so that further remarks will have greater meaning.

EXPERIENCES WITH NEGROES

A Study in the Measurement of White-Negro Relationships

By ROBERT N. FORD, *University of Pittsburgh*

This is a study of the experiences which you, your friends, and your relatives have had with Negroes. Below, you will find 26 situations indicating possible experiences you may have had.

Each situation has five possible responses. Pick the one which most nearly corresponds with your personal experiences and place a check mark (✓) on the dotted line in front of it. Try to answer every item.

There is no need to sign your name. This is not an examination. However, your experiences are of great interest to social scientists. Therefore, it is important that you select the items carefully and thoughtfully.

COMMUNITY CONTACTS⁸

Please begin here, placing a check (✓) in front of one response:

1. Are there separate arrangements for Negroes who travel in the area where you were reared?
 1. — Always; a fixed custom.
 2. — Usually separate arrangements.
 3. — Never noticed.

⁷ C. K. A. Wang, "Suggested Criteria for Writing Attitude Statements," *J. Social Psychol.*, 1932, 3: 367-373.

⁸ Scale values which appear here before each response, did not appear in forms indorsed by subjects.

4. — Negroes not required to sit apart, but they usually do so voluntarily.
5. — Same privileges as whites; sit where they like.
2. When do whites address a Negro as Mr. or Mrs. in the community where you were reared?
 1. — Never; a fixed custom.
 2. — Rarely, as in addressing a famous Negro.
 3. — Never noticed.
 4. — When the occasion demands it.
 5. — Same as in addressing whites.
3. Were Negroes allowed to use public buildings, such as libraries and museums, in the area where you were reared?
 5. — Yes, whites and Negroes used buildings at same time.
 4. — Same privileges as whites, but Negroes generally stayed away.
 3. — No chance to observe.
 2. — Limited privileges.
 1. — Not allowed.
4. How are the Negro children educated in the community where you were reared?
 5. — Never noticed any difference in treatment of white and Negro children.
 4. — Same schools and teachers as white children had.
 3. — Can't say; Negroes lived in another part of area.
 2. — Separate schools, but same amount of education provided.
 1. — Separate schools which were not as good as the white schools.
5. How do whites in the area where you were reared look upon other whites who treat Negroes as equals?
 1. — Severely criticized for such conduct.
 2. — Disliked.
 3. — No set community attitude on the matter.
 4. — Seldom anything said.
 5. — Such conduct is never questioned.
6. May a Negro enter the front door of a white man's house in the area where you were reared?
 1. — Under no circumstances.
 2. — Only if invited.
 3. — No set custom in the community.
 4. — Yes, but they seldom use the privilege.
 5. — Same as for whites in similar circumstances.
7. Do whites call Negroes "niggers" to their faces in the community where you were reared?
 1. — Yes, that is a common term of address.
 2. — Quite often, but usually in anger or disgust.
 3. — Too few opportunities for me to observe.
 4. — Rarely used.
 5. — No, the term is carefully avoided when Negroes are near.
8. How is the Negro who wants to vote treated at the polls in the community where you were reared?
 5. — Same privileges as whites, which they exercise freely.
 4. — Same privileges as whites.
 3. — Don't know.
 2. — Permitted to vote but not wanted.
 1. — Not allowed to vote.
9. Do whites in the area where you were reared favor educating Negroes?
 1. — No; spoils the Negro.
 2. — Not beyond learning to read and write.
 3. — Never heard the subject discussed enough to know.

SCALING EXPERIENCE

13

- 4. — Yes, with emphasis on manual training.
- 5. — Yes, same privileges as whites.
- 10. Were your parents in favor of treating whites and Negroes alike?
 - 5. — Strongly in favor.
 - 4. — In favor.
 - 3. — Never said.
 - 2. — Opposed.
 - 1. — Strongly opposed.
- 11. Do mobs ever seize Negroes in the area where you were reared?
 - 1. — Many times.
 - 2. — Occasionally.
 - 3. — Never had reason to, so far as I know.
 - 4. — No, our community depends on the courts.
 - 5. — Never.
- 12. May a Negro run for election to public office in your home area?
 - 5. — Yes; some hold or have held public office.
 - 4. — Yes, they may try.
 - 3. — Don't know of any such an attempt.
 - 2. — Legally yes, but they never do.
 - 1. — Whites simply would not allow it.

PERSONAL CONTACTS

This group of situations refers to you, personally, and is to be marked in the same way as those above:

- 1. Have you ever walked with a Negro for other than business reasons?
 - 5. — Yes, just as I do with whites.
 - 4. — When I thought it suitable.
 - 3. — Situation calling for a decision never arose.
 - 2. — Yes, but I was uncomfortable while doing it.
 - 1. — Never under any circumstances.
- 2. Under what conditions have you shaken hands with a Negro?
 - 5. — Follow same rules that I follow for whites.
 - 4. — When I meet a Negro friend who would expect me to.
 - 3. — Situation calling for a decision never arose.
 - 2. — To show friendship for a Negro, provided he knew his place.
 - 1. — Under no circumstances.
- 3. Have you ever been annoyed by white people who were acting too friendly toward Negroes?
 - 1. — Yes, on many occasions.
 - 2. — Yes, a few times.
 - 3. — Haven't had much chance to observe.
 - 4. — No.
 - 5. — Never; my observation has been that whites are too unfriendly.
- 4. Have you warned whites to be more strict in handling Negroes?
 - 1. — Several times.
 - 2. — No, but there have been times when I should have.
 - 3. — Never had reason to.
 - 4. — My experience has been that whites are generally too strict.
 - 5. — No, I have advised them to be less strict.
- 5. Have you ever noticed that Negroes have a disagreeable body odor?
 - 1. — Many times.

2. — A few times.
 3. — Never noticed.
 4. — Yes, but under circumstances where whites smell just as disagreeable.
 5. — The Negroes whom I have met are as clean or cleaner than whites.
6. Have you ever approved of quick justice, as sometimes dealt by white men outside of court, to a Negro who has been accused of a crime against a white person?
5. — Never under any circumstances.
 4. — Yes, but I no longer would approve.
 3. — Don't know of such a case at first hand.
 2. — Yes, but only when the offense was a very serious one.
 1. — Yes.
7. Can you recall actual cases where Negroes in public places seemed to be looking for trouble?
1. — Many of them.
 2. — A few.
 3. — Few chances to observe such situations.
 4. — Yes, but under circumstances where whites would have done the same.
 5. — None.
8. Under what circumstances have you gone to the home of a Negro?
5. — For a friendly visit.
 4. — Usually on business, but sometimes for other reasons.
 3. — Never had reason to.
 2. — On business or to show friendship, provided the Negro knew his place.
 1. — Under no circumstances.
9. Think of the Negro who has the finest qualities of character of all the Negroes whom you know. Where would you rate him in comparison with the whites whom you know?
5. — Above any whites I know, outside of my family.
 4. — Equal to my white acquaintances.
 3. — Cannot answer: don't know any Negroes well enough.
 2. — Below whites in general.
 1. — Below the meanest of white people.
10. What has been your policy in the past when a Negro came into a public place, such as theatre, railroad waiting room or restaurant?
1. — Let the Negro know he wasn't wanted.
 2. — Let him alone so long as he knew his place.
 3. — Situation never arose.
 4. — Tried to pay no attention to the situation.
 5. — Treated him as I did whites in similar circumstances.
11. Have you ever had trouble with Negroes because you thought that they were getting out of their place?
5. — On the contrary, I have defended Negroes who were being put in their place.
 4. — No trouble.
 3. — Have seldom been in position where this might have happened.
 2. — On a few occasions.
 1. — Many times.
12. Have you ever permitted Negroes to come into your home for friendly visits?
1. — Positively never.
 2. — Yes, if they knew their place.
 3. — Situation calling for a decision never arose.
 4. — On a few occasions.
 5. — Yes, frequently.
13. Have you ever called Negroes "niggers" when talking to them?
5. — Never.

4. — Yes, but I have since regretted it.
 3. — Never had reason to.
 2. — Yes, when sufficiently aroused.
 1. — Many times.
14. Which of the following descriptions most accurately represents Negro workers whom you have seen?
1. — Very poor workers; did the least possible amount of work.
 2. — Poor workers even when directed.
 3. — Not enough opportunity to make such a judgment.
 4. — Good workers when directed.
 5. — Very good workers; even showed initiative.

In preparing such items as the above, one feels compelled to state situations in the simplest possible terms. A practice was followed here to insure statement simplicity which may prove generally useful. The *Thorndike-Century Junior Dictionary*⁹ was used as a criterion. No word appears in the above items or in the instructions which falls outside the 10,000 most frequently used words in the English language, and most of the words used fall inside the first 5,000. However, this is not a sufficient guarantee that the items will be unambiguous, and therefore we take other steps.

When the items and the five responses allowed in each were in a form which satisfied the writer, he took a step beyond the Likert procedure, combining with it part of Thurstone's procedure. He presented the items and the five responses to seven judges (all college graduates), after disarranging the responses from the order in which they appear above. The judges were asked to read the question and then place the responses to the items in the following order: response showing greatest unfriendliness toward the Negro first; response showing the greatest friendliness toward the Negro fifth; neutral response third; with the other two responses filling in the proper gaps to the left or right of the neutral position. This is a critical point in the research. Can judges arrange responses to questions along a scale of friendliness-unfriendliness?

The seven judges and the author agreed remarkably well. Of 27 items under consideration, the responses for 12 questions (60 responses) were ranked in exactly the same order by all of the judges, and the responses for ten more of the questions (50 responses) were ranked exactly alike by seven of the eight judges. The responses for four more questions were ranked alike by six of the eight judges, and the remaining item was hopelessly ambiguous by this test. This is a relatively simple check for item ambiguity and has the additional value of objectivity which has made the Thurstone procedure noteworthy. Furthermore, the procedure as modified here is highly flexible, permitting the revamping of items upon advice of the judges who disagree. An interesting observation of one judge is that the responses can be ranked

⁹ Based on the work of E. L. Thorndike, *Thorndike-Century Junior Dictionary*, New York, 1935, see pp. iii ff. Half title: *A Child's Dictionary of the English Language*. Contains 30,000 most frequently used words; first 20,000 marked off in successive thousands in terms of frequency of use.

along the friendliness-unfriendliness scale without bothering to read the question, provided that the judge go through the process completely two or three times in order to understand the task fully. The small number of judges used in this research is justified by the findings of Rosander¹⁰ and Ferguson.¹¹

Weighting the Items. The items were weighted simply and consecutively from one to five, on the basis of research results published by Likert, Rundquist and Sletto, and Guilford.¹² The most unfriendly item response was assigned arbitrarily the value of one and the most friendly, the value of five. Such simple weighting is satisfactory so long as one does not wish an item to item analysis of the variations in response for some particular individual. In that case, sigma or standard scoring is necessary. Each item in the scales has as much total weight as any other. Undoubtedly certain experiences are more weighty than others, in terms of measurable emotional disturbance. How to weight such experiences is beyond the scope of this paper.

Scoring the Scales. The individual's score on the two scales is determined by adding the simple weights of the responses which he has checked for the various questions. Two scores result, one for personal items and one for community mediated items. Approximately half of the items are printed with the most friendly response first and the other half of the items have the most unfriendly response printed first. This precaution may not be necessary. However, on a priori grounds, the practice of alternating occasionally the friendly with the unfriendly ends of the scaled responses aids in eliminating those papers from further consideration where the respondents hastily check, let us say, the first response each time in order to be done with the task. Such a paper will receive scores near the midpoints of the two scales, and such scores carry with them the interpretation, "no definite experience."

If the individual selects one response each time, as he is requested to do, the following ranges and midpoints indicate the least and greatest scores obtainable on each scale:

Scale	Least Score	Midpoint	Greatest Score
I. Community Contacts	12	36	60
II. Person Contacts	14	42	70

Preliminary Trial to Determine Internal Consistency. A preliminary form was administered to 55 undergraduate students in sociology at Tulane University and to 56 at the University of Pittsburgh. Internal consistency of

¹⁰ A. C. Rosander, "The Spearman-Brown Formula in Attitude Scale Construction," *J. Exper. Psychol.*, 1936, 19: 486-495.

¹¹ L. W. Ferguson, "Influence of Individual Attitude on Construction of an Attitude Scale," *J. Social Psychol.*, 1935, 6: 115-117.

¹² Rensis Likert, *op cit.*, 25 ff. Rundquist and Sletto, *Personality in the Depression*, Minneapolis, 1936, 102. J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods*, 448, New York, 1936.

the items was first determined by Likert's suggested high-low method,¹³ using the upper and lower ten percent of papers as determined by total score. From this, one learns which items in the series are most discriminating in producing high and low scores. This test fails to tell decisively how undiscriminating the poorest items are. Consequently, in the present research, we started again with the least discriminating item as determined above and computed product-moment correlations between the individual's response to the item under analysis and the total score on his paper for all of the items in that scale. As one works up the list from the least to the most discriminating items, he soon passes the point where coefficients of .30 re-

TABLE 1. ODD-EVEN RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS OBTAINED FROM COMMUNITY CONTACT AND PERSONAL CONTACT SCALES, CORRECTED FOR DOUBLE LENGTH

Scale	Group ¹	Number Cases	Correlation r	Probable Error
Community Contact	A	177	.92	.01
Community Contact	B	100	.84	.02
Personal Contact	A	177	.86	.01
Personal Contact	B	100	.82	.02

¹ Group A. Students, Univ. of Miss. and Univ. of Pittsburgh combined.

Group B. Students, Tulane Univ. and Univ. of Pittsburgh, combined.

sult. After computing a few more for safety's sake, one may conclude on the basis of Likert's work¹⁴ that the items which rank higher are satisfactory. In this study, items which yielded coefficients of less than .30 were discarded because they are, apparently, contributing little to the total test. Of the 27 items originally placed in the two scales, three were discarded. The resulting scales appear above.

II. Reliability of the Scales. The reliability of the scales was determined by the usual split-half technique, corrected for double length by the Spearman-Brown prophecy formula. The subjects used in determining reliability were students in sociology classes at Tulane University, the University of Mississippi, and the University of Pittsburgh. They responded anonymously. Items of information collected, other than their responses to scale questions, are college rank, sex, age, legal residence, and state where they had lived most of their lives.

The higher reliability coefficients for Group A are partly due to the greater size of the group and also to the fact that Group A indorsed a form of the test in which the items were printed in descending order of merit, according to the test of internal consistency. The latter arrangement produces two fairly equivalent pools when the odd items and the even items

¹³ *Op. cit.*, 50 ff.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 49-50.

are separated. A random arrangement of 12 or 14 items would be less satisfactory. As printed above, the items are in descending order of merit.

The reliability coefficients, ranging from .82 to .92, indicate that the scales have good reliability when administered to college classes. The coefficient of .92 is higher than those generally obtained in studies of this kind. It is interesting to note that the students answer the questions about their communities more consistently than they do those about their personal contacts with Negroes. This becomes more interesting when we recall that the community scale contains only 12 items, as compared to 14 items about personal contacts. Ordinarily, greater length produces greater reliability. One can only conjecture what produces this greater consistency. An hypothesis which recurred constantly to this writer is that the students have a tendency to stereotype responses about their community. That is, they are quite certain that they know how their community behaves toward the Negro. Their own experiences are more variable. However, this is an open question so far as this research is concerned.

III. Validity of the Scales. We judge the validity of the scales created here by certain criteria outside of the scales themselves: (A) the scales should enable us to differentiate between groups whose experiences are known before hand to differ; (B) if the scales are fit tools, they should also enable us to differentiate within groups which are homogeneous in certain other respects, later specified.

A. Differentiating between Known Groups. It is common knowledge that Northerners and Southerners of the United States have different attitudes toward the Negro, and that the experiences one has with Negroes in the North vary from the experiences of Southerners. To test the validity of our scales, we administered them in final form, as printed above, to several large groups of white students in sociology classes at the University of Pittsburgh and at the University of Mississippi. Table 2 shows that the mean score of 77 students, both male and female, who reported their legal residence as Mississippi differs significantly from the mean score of 71 students from the University of Pittsburgh who reported their legal residence as Pennsylvania. The mean score of the Southerners is well below the theoretical midpoint of the scales, and that of the Northerners is above it. The critical ratios ($\text{Diff.} / \sigma_{\text{diff.}}$; means assumed to be uncorrelated) are well above the usually accepted standard for high significance of 3.0. Merton has shown that selected groups from Pennsylvania vary less from Southerners in attitude toward the Negro than do New Englanders.¹⁵ Consequently, we may judge that the results shown here are conservative.

Comparison of the mean scores for a given sex in the South with the same sex in the North indicates the same fact; these scales elicit responses re-

¹⁵ R. K. Merton, "Fact and Factitiousness in Ethnic Opinionnaires," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, 1940, 5: 27.

garding experiences with Negroes which are significantly different in the two areas, and the males and females both are contributing to the critically different mean scores shown in Table 2. The smallest of four critical ratios computed by sex is 4.7 and the largest is 20.2, where a ratio of 3.0 indicates high significance.

B. Differentiating within a Group. If we take the scores of either the Southern or the Northern sociology students indicated in Table 2, and compare the mean score of the highest quartile in a group with the mean of the lowest, we find that the scales discriminate satisfactorily. When this was done for Southerners and Northerners separately, no critical ratio in six

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN SCORES OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN STUDENTS IN EXPERIENCES WITH NEGROES

Scale	Number		Mid-value of Scale	Mean Score		Diff.	Standard Deviation		Diff. σ_{diff}
	S ¹	N ¹		S ¹	N ¹		S ¹	N ¹	
Community Contacts	77	71	36.0	23.5	45.0	21.5	5.4	4.6	26.9
Personal Contacts	77	71	42.0	38.7	48.0	9.3	6.6	7.1	8.2

¹ S means South; N means North.

fell below 7.3 and the highest was 14.4. The fifth and sixth groups were separated by sex as well as by residence. Caution is needed here because subanalysis reduces greatly the number of cases. The results seem to indicate, however, that the scales are able to elicit differentiating responses in groups which are homogeneous with respect to state of legal residence, by sex, and by fact of university enrollment. Such findings are evidence of validity because we assume on good grounds beforehand that individuals have varying experiences with Negroes, even though they are white, members of a given sex, residents of a certain state, and students at a certain university.

IV. Checking Some Original Hypotheses: The following paragraphs indicate the degree to which test findings sustain the original notions about white-Negro contacts. It so happens that each hypothesis is supported by the findings of this research. Insofar as test results support our preliminary notions, the scales are further validated.

1. The major thesis of this paper, that social experiences can be scaled, is sustained within the limits set by the questions asked and so far as usual statistical tests of reliability and validity are employed, as indicated previously.

2. A subsidiary hypothesis is that the experiences one reports for himself are generally the same as those which he reports for his community. We have indicated above that there is a significantly wide range of experiences

within a homogeneous group if we take the mean scores of the end quartiles from one scale. Now we want to know whether the scores assigned individuals for Personal Contact are correlated with the scores assigned their communities on the basis of the report which they make for their community on the scale called Community Contact. Such a correlation may be fairly taken as a measure of the completeness with which the members of this group identify themselves with their home community.

In checking this hypothesis, we used 175 students attending the University of Mississippi and the University of Pittsburgh. Probably very few of them came from the same community in the sociological sense. We may assume that these 175 students came from over 100 different communities. When the score assigned them on the Community Contacts scale is cor-

TABLE 3. CORRELATIONS BETWEEN EXPERIENCE, ATTITUDE, AND SOCIAL DISTANCE WITH THE NEGRO AS A VARIABLE OBJECT

Scales	Number Cases	Correlation	
		Raw	Corrected
Community Contacts and Thurstone-Hinckley Attitude	178	.54 ± .04	.63
Personal Contacts and Thurstone-Hinckley Attitude	177	.59 ± .03	.71
Personal Contacts and Bogardus Social Distance	167	.59 ± .03	.71

related with the score assigned them on the Personal Contacts scale, we obtain a product-moment correlation of $+.64 \pm .03$, which becomes a .72 when corrected for attenuation. We may consider the hypothesis sustained insofar as this research touches upon the problem raised.

3. Attitude and experience are interrelated. Attitudes determine the interpretation an individual places upon experience, and the experience further intrenches or modifies the attitude held. Many case studies have borne out this theory. If we test it here by means of certain scales, we find the theory upheld. Table 3 shows the relevant correlations. One's attitude toward the Negro as determined by the Thurstone-Hinckley Scale¹⁶ and by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale¹⁷ is rather highly correlated with the report one makes of his own experiences with Negroes, as determined by the Personal Contacts Scale. If one's attitude score on the Thurstone-Hinckley Scale is correlated with the report one makes for his community, the coefficient is somewhat lower than the others obtained, but the correlation is still significant.

The students used in the tests were the same students indicated above.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*

In computing correlations which have been corrected for attenuation, a reliability of .80 was granted the Thurstone-Hinckley Scale¹⁸ and the Bogardus Scale. For this reason, the uncorrected figures are more dependable.

There is a point of view not mentioned previously from which we may indeed expect to obtain high correlations between experience and attitude. In this research, the items in the scales refer to past conduct called "experiences." The judges were asked to rank the responses to the questions upon the basis of the friendliness or the unfriendliness indicated by the response. We may logically expect, therefore, that a measure of this friendliness of contact will correlate positively with tests of attitude such as the Thurstone-Hinckley or the Bogardus scales, where the opinions which one may indorse are likewise ranked on a scale of friendliness and unfriendliness.

From this point of view, one may say that the scales for estimating the friendliness or unfriendliness of experience are really attitude scales in disguise. That may indeed be correct. Thurstone has struck at the problem of attitude by asking essentially, "What are your opinions?" Bogardus and Dodd¹⁹ strike at attitude by asking, "What social relations are you willing to tolerate with these people?" C. R. Pace²⁰ has struck at the problem of attitude by creating a Situations-Response scale in which he asks, "What would you do under these circumstances?" He uses the Likert type scale. Rosander²¹ asks the same kind of question, using the Thurstone type scale. In the present research, which was suggested by Rosander, we ask essentially, "What has happened to you?" and "What are the relationships maintained in your home community with these people?" From this, we assign scores of friendliness or unfriendliness upon the basis of the consensus of eight judges. If the scales as prepared here are indeed attitude scales in disguise (and this seems to be a fruitless point to labor further), the disguise may be a virtue rather than a vice. The next section has bearing upon the question raised here.

4. A final hypothesis concerns the possibility of shifting scores on these experience scales through a series of lectures and class discussions about race relations. We hold, hypothetically, that the scores on experience scales should shift insignificantly as a result of the lectures if the scales presented here are valid, unless such items as the following appear in the scales; "Did you ever study race relations?" or "Have you been influenced by a teacher in the matter of race relations?" No such items appear in the scales. Therefore, experience scores should not shift significantly.

¹⁸ Personal letter from E. D. Hinckley reporting such coefficients for college groups.

¹⁹ Stuart C. Dodd, "A Social Distance Test in the Near East," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Sept. 1935, 41: 195.

²⁰ "A Situations Test to Measure Social-Political-Economic Attitudes," *J. Social Psychol.*, 1939, 10: 331-344.

²¹ A. C. Rosander, "An Attitude Scale Based upon Behavior Situations," *J. Social Psychol.*, 1937, 8: 3-15.

To check this hypothesis, we administered the following four scales as a battery; Personal Contacts, Community Contacts, Bogardus Social Distance, and the Thurstone-Hinckley Negro scale. The 26 students who served as subjects were all members of a class studying "Immigration and Race" at the University of Kentucky. Thereafter, for 18 sessions the class listened to materials about racial problems and relations, such as parts of Otto Klineberg's *Race Differences* and F. H. Hankins' *Racial Basis of Civilization*. The class interrupted freely and frequently to discuss the material. The bias of the subject matter selected and of the lecturer (myself) was that race differences are much exaggerated, that we must be careful to avoid imputing inferiority to out-groups on racial grounds, and, in general,

TABLE 4. TEST SCORES ON EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDE TOWARD THE NEGRO BEFORE AND AFTER EIGHTEEN LECTURES ABOUT RACES OVER A FIFTY-FOUR-DAY INTERVAL

Scales	Number	Mean Score		Standard Deviation		r^1	Diff. ² $\sigma_{diff.}$
		Before	After	Before	After		
Community Contacts	23	33.0	33.7	6.7	6.5	.79	0.72
Personal Contacts	23	39.5	41.3	6.8	6.8	.72	1.68
Bogardus Social Distance	22	5.3	4.5 ³	0.5	1.4	.70	3.36
Thurstone-Hinckley Attitude	23	5.7	6.3	1.2	1.3	.75	3.49

¹ Product-moment correlation between scores before and after, corrected for attenuation (reliabilities indicated previously).

² Means assumed to be correlated.

³ Smaller score indicates greater friendliness on Bogardus scale.

that man is a psychic unity, if not a cultural one. In short, the lecturer treated minority and out-groups in a friendly way. The same battery of tests was administered again, both times anonymously, at the end of the 54-day interval of lectures. The students used code markings consisting of six-place numbers of their own choosing rather than their names, and they used the same code number on the retest, having been cautioned to record the code number somewhere in their notebooks.

The findings appear in Table 4. Unfortunately, the number of cases is small, but the material is of interest in spite of that. The critical ratios (Diff./ $\sigma_{diff.}$; means assumed to be correlated) indicate that the students changed their reports about Community Contacts with Negroes insignificantly—well within the range of chance variation. Their report of Personal Experiences with Negroes changed more, but still insignificantly as judged by Fisher's test of significance. Undoubtedly, some had new and different personal contacts with Negroes in the 54-day interval, but as a group, the change is not great. Note, too, that these are college students most of whom are not in their "home community."

The interesting fact is that the students did change significantly in their attitude toward the Negro, as measured by both the Thurstone-Hinckley and the Bogardus scales. With due regard to the small number of cases, we may call the change highly significant, as judged by Fisher's test. This experiment is not conclusive in that the number of cases is small and in as much as no formal control group was used. However, the hypothesis which was set up is uncontradicted, namely, that the lectures would not change the experience scores. In passing, we might add that it was also an hypothesis that the attitude scores would shift significantly, which accounts for the fact that the two attitude scales were included in the battery.

V. Conclusion. Social experiences can be scaled. Two such scales are presented, one for Community Contacts with Negroes and another for Personal Contacts with Negroes. The scales are reliable and valid according to usually accepted standards.

The experiences an individual reports for himself are generally the same as those he reports for his community. Furthermore, his experiences and his attitudes are positively related. Evidence indicates that the scales are not disguised opinionnaires of the Thurstone or Bogardus type, because attitude shifted when experience as measured here did not. This must be strictly interpreted in terms of the procedures involved, the questions asked, and the individuals who responded. Generalizations beyond these points are hazardous.

Further research along several lines is suggested in the section *Uses for Experience Scales* above. In addition, we might profitably take people who live in a *given* community and apply both scales to them. We also might inquire into the relatively greater variability of response on the Personal Contacts with Negroes scale. As suggested, we might find there is a tendency to stereotype the home community. No analysis is made here of item by item responses, which may have interesting results. Also, now that over a half dozen varieties of scales about Negroes are available, partial correlational analysis may prove valuable.

NOTICE

Please turn to page 102 for an important notice relative to the annual Census of Research.

SOME ASPECTS OF A THEORY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS

RICHARD C. FULLER AND RICHARD R. MYERS

University of Michigan

SOCIAL problems courses have too often fallen into disrepute because sociologists have had no clear understanding of the nature of the social phenomena out of which problems arise. Because of this lack of understanding, courses have been "informational" in character, the teaching lopsided and incomplete, and the textbooks primarily compendia of unrelated facts.

"Social Problems" has been a convenient heading under which a mass of data pertaining to crime, divorce, immigration, insanity, and the like, has been assembled and presented to the student in unsystematic and undigested form. In this lumping together, the contribution of the sociologist as such has been negligible. He has borrowed from the fields of history, economics, medicine, psychiatry, penology, and social work and has condensed findings from these various disciplines into a series of separate courses in miniature, but has added to the totality very little distinctly sociological analysis.

What justification is there for preserving in the sociology curriculum a course which surveys differentiated and discrete problems, catch-as-catch-can, without a unifying and systematic sociological interpretation? It may be that there is some place in the college curriculum for a survey course which considers a variety of social problems from a variety of viewpoints—biological, medical, economic, political—but a course of that type should be presented in collaboration by a number of different specialists. There is no reason why a sociologist should have any special competence to handle so many varied kinds of data with so many different scientific analyses.

Some may object that social problems do not have enough in common to be dealt with by one central thread of sociological theory. If such be the case, then each separate problem must be interpreted with a different set of sociological concepts and the only excuse for considering a number of problems together would be that of practical expediency—to satisfy students who desire a survey course because they have not the time or interest for more specialized study.

It seems worthwhile, therefore, to inquire whether sociology can work out a common orientation for the treatment of diverse social problems as "sociological phenomena," and whether this central thread of analysis can be maintained consistently throughout a course or textbook.

Attempts to achieve such common orientation have been made by certain textbook writers. The most popular climate of theory has been the applica-

tion of cultural lag and social disorganization analyses to social problems.¹ We find this theory set up in skeleton form in first and last chapters of textbooks, but rarely, if ever, consistently applied throughout the book to all the problems with regard to which the author presents factual data. The result is that the theoretical discussion of the concept "social problem" is of little practical use to the student and is relegated to a minor role in the introduction or conclusion of the course.

The failure of sociologists to develop a workable sociological orientation stems from their inability to free themselves from the traditional concept "social problem" which is unrealistic because it is incomplete. Traditionally, sociologists have dealt with social problems as "givens," rather than as phenomena to be demonstrated. They have assumed certain conditions as inevitable social problems, either to suit their own scheme of values, or because such conditions have historically been discussed as problems in the textbooks.

A social problem is a condition which is an actual or imagined deviation from some social norm cherished by a considerable number of persons. But who is to say whether a condition is such deviation? The sociologist may say so, but that does not make the condition a social problem from the point of view of the layman. Sociologists, nonetheless, have been content to take deviations for granted, without bothering to consult the definitions of conditions which laymen make.

Every social problem has both an objective and a subjective aspect. The objective phase consists of a verifiable condition, situation, or event. The subjective phase is the awareness or definition of certain people that the condition, situation, or event is inimical to their best interests, and a consciousness that something must be done about it. Conditions do not assume a prominent place in a social problem until a given people define them as hostile to their welfare.

This is well illustrated by reference to population data. Mere pressure of numbers on subsistence in a given area is not enough, in itself, to create a problem of overpopulation for the people living there. The density of population per square mile, the availability of food and natural resources for the people in the area, and the distribution of goods and services among the population make up the objective conditions. The people may be miserable, their standards of living pitifully low, disease and mortality rates may be high, and yet from their viewpoint, they are not overpopulated unless they believe themselves to be overpopulated. If the people are not problem-conscious, they will not behave as if there were any problem. They will not debate the condition as a problem nor will they organize to do anything about it. Social problems are what people think they are.

¹ For a discussion of some of the limitations of the social disorganization theory in the analysis of social problems, see Richard C. Fuller, "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, Nov. 1938, 415-25.

Again, for some time in this country, we have had a falling birth rate. Though our population is still increasing, it is growing at a diminishing rate. Population authorities have been aware of this trend for some time and it has been reported in textbooks and government surveys. We can reasonably expect that if the trend continues we will have a stationary population in the not very distant future, and from then on a net decline in population. Some classes whose interests will be disturbed by this trend are farmers, manufacturers, school teachers, doctors, and real estate people. Can we say, therefore, that this objective condition makes the declining birth rate a social problem to the American people? There seems to be little public awareness, concern, or discussion of the trend. Even the newspapers, pulpits, and popular lecture rostrums are surprisingly silent on the subject. Awareness may come in the future, but until then the people cannot be said to be problem-conscious on this matter.

It is the same with the so-called labor problem. The objective condition of a hereditary class of propertyless wage-earners may be necessary but it is not sufficient for the existence of a labor problem. As Briefs has so convincingly demonstrated, the working class must give their condition the subjective definition of protest before we can realistically speak of a proletariat or a labor problem.²

So we must distinguish between problems which are problems only to the scientists, as experts, and problems which are defined as such by the people because their wants or needs are unsatisfied. It is not enough that people are being or will be affected by objective conditions. Their behavior must indicate that they think the condition threatens cherished values.

Not only have sociologists neglected popular definitions of conditions. (They have also overlooked the dual role which value-judgments play in causing the condition itself, and in obstructing solutions for its alleviation or eradication. This is unfortunate, because we can learn very little about social problems by considering only such scientific data as lie outside the pale of moral judgments. This is precisely why all the scientific information pertinent to the medical aspects of venereal disease will not solve the social problem which is venereal disease. (A value-scheme which prohibits frank discussion of sex problems in the home and school is a causal item in the existence of the condition, venereal disease.) The same taboos which contribute to the causation of the condition frustrate public programs which are designed to eradicate it. Similarly, value-judgments which deny social acceptance to the mother of a child born out of wedlock not only contribute causally to such conditions as abortions, infant mortality, and abandoned children, all of which are socially disapproved, but such value-judgments also obstruct efforts to solve the illegitimacy problem by impeding free discussion of it.)

² Goetz Briefs, *The Proletariat*, New York, 1937.

Doubtless the sociologist has ignored the value-judgments of people because he feels he cannot be objective about them and hence will lose his scientific detachment. The danger of subjectivity should not deter him from studying social values; if he leaves them out, he has not a complete concept "social problem"; he is dealing with only fragmentary and partial data. He must bring these value-judgments into the arena of scientific study before it can be said he is obeying one of the first rules of science, which is to study all, not part, of the evidence pertinent to his problem.³

A common sociological orientation for the analysis of all social problems may thus be found in the conflict of values which characterizes every social problem. These conflicts are mirrored in the failure of people to agree that a given condition is a social problem, or assuming such agreement, failure to reach an accord as to what should be done about it. It is exactly this disagreement in value-judgments that is the root cause of all social problems, both in the original definition of the condition as a problem and in subsequent efforts to solve it. May we suggest, tentatively, a threefold classification of social problems on the principle of different levels of relationship to the value-scheme?⁴

At the first level, we have what we may call the *physical* problem. The physical problem represents a condition which practically all people regard as a threat to their welfare, but value-judgments cannot be said to cause the condition itself. This is perhaps best demonstrated by such catastrophic problems as earthquakes, hurricanes, floods, droughts, locust plagues, and so forth. That these are "serious" problems from the standpoint of the people which they affect, we can have no doubt. However, we may raise the question whether or not they are "social" problems, since they do not usually occur because of conflicts in the value-scheme of the culture. We find no public forums debating the question of what to do about preventing earthquakes and hurricanes. There is no controversy over how to stop volcanic eruptions and cloudbursts. The causation is thought of as non-human, resting in natural forces outside the control of man. Perhaps we may call such causation noncultural or precultural.

Here, we must distinguish between the condition itself and the effects of the condition. While the earthquake itself may involve no value-judgments, its consequences inevitably will call for moral judgments and decisions of policy. People will not agree on how much should be spent in reconstruction, how it should be spent, or how the funds should be raised. There may be serious questions as to whether people in other unaffected areas of the same

³ For an interesting prospectus for the study of a social problem, such as housing, which includes the definitions of laymen and pressure groups as well as the analyses of economists, engineers, and other scientists, see Louis Wirth (ed.), *Contemporary Social Problems*, Chicago, 1940.

⁴ The elements of this classification were stated by Richard C. Fuller in the article, "The Problem of Teaching Social Problems," *op. cit.*, 419-20.

society should come to the aid of the stricken area. However, the earthquake itself is not a social problem in the same sense as illegitimacy and unemployment. The latter have cultural elements in their causation.

In the case of the physical problem, there is scientific ignorance of causation and control, and we cannot say that the value-judgments of the people are obstructing the solution of the problem. There is no social disorganization involved, no clash of social values, no lag between public opinion and scientific opinion. If scientific knowledge has ascertained the causes of the condition and for some reason the value-judgments of the people interfere with the acceptance and application of this knowledge, then we can say that value-judgments are a part of the causal pattern of the problem and that the problem is truly "social" and no longer belongs at our first level. Thus, if we may anticipate the time when scientists can tell us how to prevent earthquakes, control hurricanes, and make rain for drought-stricken areas, we may imagine some elements of the population who will oppose the application of scientific techniques on the ground that they are too costly and threaten budget-balancing, or that they interfere with nature and God's will, or for some other reason. At this point in the evolution of the culture, we do have a man-made problem, since the will of certain groups is a causal element in the occurrence of the condition itself.

Most diseases have at one time or another constituted physical or medical problems rather than social problems. Many years ago, the bubonic plague, small-pox, and syphilis were far beyond medical knowledge of prevention and control. Today, if the bubonic plague and small-pox should again sweep the world, they would not be essentially "medical" problems since medicine now knows how to deal with them. They would be "social problems" since their recurrence could be traced to the breakdown of our educational techniques, popular resistance against vaccination, confusion as to public policy in public health matters, or some other man-made situation. Likewise, the control of syphilis is now definitely a social problem. Medical knowledge of prevention and control is very nearly perfected, but the problem of changing social attitudes and removing social inertia is very much with us. On the other hand, infantile paralysis still remains primarily a problem for medical rather than social science.

As for locust plagues and floods, it is perhaps debatable whether or not they belong at this first level of the physical problem. To the degree that we know how to check boll weevil and grasshopper invasions and avoid floods, these things are social problems. To the degree that we lack such knowledge, they are merely technical, engineering, or physical problems.

At the second level, we have the ameliorative problem. Problems of this type represent conditions which people generally agree are undesirable in any instance, but they are unable to agree on programs for the amelioration of the condition. The essence of the ameliorative problem is one of

solution and the administration of reform rather than original agreement that the condition constitutes a social problem which must be eradicated. Crime and delinquency fall in this category. Though there are individuals who offend the dominant community mores by robbing, murdering, raping, and petty thieving, there are no interest groups who openly in forum and legislature seek to perpetuate the interests which these individuals represent. All "right-thinking" people, regardless of race, nationality, religion, or economic status, look upon the ameliorative problem as intolerable. Among other problems which we may place in this class are most physical diseases, mental deficiency and insanity, and industrial and automobile accidents.

In contrast to the physical problem at the first level, the ameliorative problem is truly "social" in the sense that it is a man-made condition. By this we mean that value-judgments not only help to create the condition, but to prevent its solution. In the case of crime, certain moral judgments of our culture are to a large extent responsible for the criminal act in the first place. To the degree that our mores of conspicuous consumption enter into the motivation of crimes for pecuniary gain, there is a cultural responsibility for such criminal acts. Or again, traditional prison policies based on our belief in severity of punishment may become part of the causal pattern of further criminal behavior in the prisoner after his liberation. These same cherished notions of retribution in punishment of criminals operate to dissuade legislatures from adequately financing probation and parole systems, juvenile delinquency clinics, and the schools for problem children.

At this level, also, we have those physical and mental diseases where traditional beliefs obstruct the application of medical and psychiatric knowledge to the prevention and treatment of individual deficiencies. Certainly illness, disease, and industrial accidents among the low income groups reflect the failure of our culture both in preventing high incidences of risk to these people and in inadequately insuring them against the costs of such risks. Specifically, the uneven distribution of wealth and income throughout our various social classes serves both to expose wage-earners and their families to malnutrition, disease, and accident, and to deprive them of the means to meet the economic costs of such disasters.

Even in the case of the insanities, especially those of the functional type, there is a cultural source. Preventive psychiatry functioning through the mental hygiene movement has had hard sledding because insanities have long been regarded as conditions taboo to public discussion. The stigma placed on a schizophrenia victim often results in retarded treatment which, if sought earlier, would reduce the difficulties in the way of an effective cure. Many of our people have not yet come to regard mental disease in the same light as they do pneumonia or tuberculosis—as just another type of illness which can be prevented or cured if treatment is given in time.

It is true that all our ameliorative problems have their technical, medical,

or engineering aspects similar to those involved in the physical problem. Venereal disease, tuberculosis, insanity, and automobile accidents all necessitate investigation by scientific specialists. The point is, of course, that in the case of such problems, even when the specialists have isolated the causes and are agreed upon programs of control, laymen still are hopelessly divided over questions of policy.

- 3.3 — At the third level we have what we will call the *moral* problem. The moral problem represents a condition on which there is no unanimity of opinion throughout the society that the condition is undesirable in every instance.
- ✓ There is no general agreement that the condition is a problem and thus many people do not feel that anything should be done about it. With the moral problem, we have a basic and primary confusion in social values which goes much deeper than the questions of solution which trouble us in the ameliorative problem.⁵ Of course, the ameliorative problem reflects confusion in the value-scheme and thus contains real elements of moral conflict, but such conflict centers more around techniques and means of reform than around fundamental agreement on objectives and ultimate values. Hence, though all "right-thinking" people regard such conditions as crime, insanity, and disease as bad, there are interest groups openly defending and perpetuating the conditions classified as moral problems. Witness the problems of child labor and low wage and hour standards. We have only to read the record of newspaper and Congressional debate on the recently enacted Fair Labor Standards Act to learn that many individuals and groups not only objected to the specific solution attempted in the legislation, but also refused to admit that the conditions themselves were problems over which we should be concerned. In one of the first cases heard under the child labor legislation, one Michigan judge defended the labor of a newsboy on the ground that when he was a boy such work was regarded as excellent character development and training in individual qualities of initiative and self-discipline. Certainly employers in the beet sugar fields of the middle-western states who rely heavily on the labor of children do not define the condition, insofar as it pertains to them, in terms of a social problem. In those families where the labor of children is considered necessary to the maintenance of the family budget, parents and children alike have a stake in the continuance of the condition so abhorred by others. Religious groups have even frowned on government control of child labor as an unjustifiable invasion of the home and a threat to the prerogatives of the church. As to long hours and low wages, the opposition of some dominant groups in the southern states to the enactment of the federal legislation indicated no "problem-conscious" attitude on their part. Classical economists and em-

⁵ The term "moral problem" is used by Stuart A. Queen and Jennette R. Gruener in their *Social Pathology*, 38-42, New York, 1940. The moral problem, as they define it, pertains to questions of fundamental right and wrong.

employers have been known to look upon unemployment and low wage and hours standards as the inevitable, if not the necessary, mechanics of competition in the labor market.

The same logic applies to the condition of unorganized wage earners. Organized opposition to the enforcement of the National Labor Relations Act indicated not only objection to certain provisions of the law and to abuses in its administration, but also antagonism to the basic policy of the law itself which was to guarantee to workers the right to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing without hindrance from the employer. Though collective bargaining has come a long way toward public acceptance, there is still widespread denial of that fundamental right in the attitudes of many employers and community officials. We have not as yet any consensus of opinion in evaluating the condition of unorganized labor.

Other problems which have less of the economic in their make-up than those mentioned above, but which also occupy the same position in relation to the value-scheme, are divorce, race prejudice, and war. Feminists, free-love advocates, and even less "modern" individuals look upon divorce as a necessary and logical release from matings which have turned out unfortunately. The fact that our forty-nine legal jurisdictions demonstrate such a wide variety of legal grounds for divorce is a rough index of the great discrepancy in moral judgments on divorce the country over. Race prejudice in many sections of our country does not disturb many individuals at all. We can take a point here from Fascist persecution of the Jews. Race prejudice is defended by totalitarian authorities as a natural phenomenon—essential to the survival of the "pure" racial strains. Even less need be said as to the absence of any clear national or world consensus which defines war as something wrong and in need of eradication at all costs.

The utility of this classification is in its relativity. The purpose is not to pigeonhole the different problems with finality at any one level, but rather to give us a working basis for observing the position of each problem relative to other problems, and to the value-scheme as a whole. Note that problems will move from one category to another with changes in the state of scientific knowledge and with shifts in the value-scheme. When the physical problems cease to be essentially problems of engineering and medical knowledge, and come to involve questions of social policy, they will move over into alignment with the ameliorative problems at the second level. As indicated, venereal disease has seemingly made this transition though infantile paralysis has not. When problems now classed as moral come to have wide disapproval throughout our culture as conditions which must in every instance be done away with, they will become essentially problems of solution rather than agreement on basic values and will be dealt with as ameliorative problems. Some day child labor may be looked upon as criminal in the same sense that robbery and murder are now regarded as criminal.

Conceivably, war may sometime be defined as wrong as venereal disease.

Nor is there any finality about the problems tentatively classified as ameliorative. Many crimes, such as political corruption, gambling, liquor offenses, and traffic violations are condoned, tolerated, and even participated in by respected and otherwise responsible members of the community. White-collar crimes are conspicuous in this category. Crimes of this sort reflect the same fundamental confusion of values as the problems which we discussed as moral. Before such offenses can be said to be merely problems of police detection and judicial enforcement, the citizens of the community must get together and agree that something should be done.

It may well be that there are very few contemporary problems which can be said to be purely ameliorative in nature, since most of them reflect no underlying clarity of definition and moral evaluation. If such be the case, it is a revealing commentary on the absence of any firm tissue of cultural integration in the value-scheme. Cultural integration itself is a matter of degree. There is always more or less, but never complete integration. A complete homogeneity of social values would mean we would have no social problems at all unless we include only the purely physical problems discussed at the first level.

Whether or not the point of view suggested in this paper can be successfully applied to a text or course in contemporary social problems remains to be demonstrated. The classification indicated may have some important theoretical implications for an orientation of discrete social problems to a central thread of sociological analysis, but there may be real difficulties in the way of adapting it to teaching purposes.

Conventional textbook classifications of social problems have followed the rule of expediency rather than systematic theoretical analysis. Thus, problems have been given such common sense classifications as: conservation of natural resources, population, physical and mental health, economic security, crime and delinquency, family disorganization, war, propaganda and social control.

Conceivably, however, a course in social problems could consider problems somewhat in the order of the classification we have suggested. Physical problems need not be treated in detail for they are not truly "social problems." Some discussion of them, nonetheless, would perhaps clarify the point of view as a whole. Ameliorative problems, where there is a basic agreement on the wrongfulness of the condition, would be considered from the standpoint of policies for solution. Moral problems would be approached only secondarily from the angle of solution policies, primarily with respect to cleavages of opinion over questions of fundamental right and wrong.

ACTUAL AND PREFERRED SOURCES OF CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION

JOHN WINCHELL RILEY AND MATILDA WHITE
New Jersey College for Women *Market Research Corp. of America*

IN A recent study¹ of the contraceptive practice of 2568 economically secure, urban married women, data were gathered on the sources from which they actually obtained their contraceptive information, as well as on the sources from which they would prefer to obtain such information. These data thus throw some light, not only upon the complex of agencies through which contraceptive information is diffused, but also upon the degree to which this complex is considered satisfactory.

TABLE 1. ACTUAL SOURCES OF CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION

Source	Percent of Total Contraceptors (2339)
Doctor	58
Friends	20
Mother or relatives	20
Druggist	4
Books	4
Pamphlets	3
Advertisements	2
Clinic	2
Visiting nurse	1
Priest, minister, rabbi	1
School	*1
Magazine articles	*
Lectures	*
Miscellaneous	1
Base: Total contraceptors	100
Total sources mentioned	116 ²

¹ Asterisks (*) indicate less than 0.5 of one percent.

² I.e., every 100 contraceptors obtained information from 116 sources on the average.

The basic data indicating actual sources of information are given in Table 1. It is perhaps not surprising that doctors were relied upon by 58 percent of the contraceptors, since the sample was drawn, on the whole, from upper economic strata. This raises the question of whether this is a recent development or is an old practice with doctors.

The other two leading sources were friends and mothers (or other relatives), each mentioned by 20 percent of the respondents. The importance of

¹ John W. Riley, and Matilda White, "The Use of Various Methods of Contraception," *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, December 1940, 890.

these two sources also raises some interesting questions. Are technical contraceptive problems discussed in conversations under the intimate cover of friendship? Or is this "grapevine" tending to wither in the face of growing social objectivity in regard to birth control, thus leading seekers for information to more scientific sources? Is the family continuing to perpetuate its traditional pattern of reproductive behavior through the influence which mothers have over their daughters?

Obviously, these are questions which cannot be answered categorically, but the data offer some clues. The material was tabulated to indicate how long ago the information was obtained (Table 2). The minor sources are

TABLE 2. VARIATIONS OVER TIME IN SOURCES OF CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION

Sources	Percent before 1924	Percent 1924-1934	Percent 1935-1939 ¹
Doctor	46	59	61
Mother or relatives	33	19	15
Friends	24	22	18
Clinic ²		2	2
Other formal sources (Visiting nurses, religious counselors, schools, lectures)	3	3	3
Other informal sources (Druggists, books, pamphlets, maga- zine articles, advertisements)	11	12	13
Total sources mentioned	117	117	112
Base: Total stating	(284) 100	(911) 100	(914) 100

¹ These dates include both the years named.

² More detailed figures for clinics, although they might logically be expected to be substantiated by a wider sampling, are not reliable within the limits of the present data. These percentages for five-year periods are: before 1919, not available; 1919-1924, 1.0; 1925-1929, 1.4; 1930-1934, 1.9; 1935-1939, 2.3.

combined in this table into two groups: (1) formal, or "institutionalized," sources including clinics, visiting nurses, priests, ministers, rabbis, schools, and lectures; and (2) informal (largely commercial) sources including druggists, books, pamphlets, magazine articles, and advertisements.

Table 2 warrants the following conclusions (for this sample).

1. The doctors of the country are playing an increasingly important role in supplying their patients with contraceptive information.

2. There has been a very pronounced decline in the tendency of the family to perpetuate its reproductive pattern of behavior independently of other agencies, as indicated by an increasing hesitancy on the part of daughters to rely upon their mothers and relatives for contraceptive information. This marked trend would appear to be consistent with other functional changes which are taking place within the family.

3. Reliance upon friends as a source of contraceptive information is tending to decrease. This may indicate a decrease in prejudice toward birth control as evidenced by wider discussion beyond the circle of friendship.

4. Birth control clinics, despite many legal and social obstacles, appear to be reaching a larger (though still small) proportion of the population.

5. As clinics and commercial agencies extend their influence, other formal agencies of information tend to play a constant role in the diffusion process.

6. Since 1935, women appear to be seeking fewer sources of contraceptive information, as evidenced by the fact that on the average every 100 women

TABLE 3. PREFERRED SOURCES OF CONTRACEPTIVE INFORMATION

Source	Percent of Total Respondents Stating (2544)
Doctor	88
Clinic	21
Mother or relatives	7
Druggist	5
Books	4
Pamphlets	4
Advertisements	3
Friends	2
Nurse	1
Priest, minister, rabbi	1
School	1
Lectures	1
Magazine articles	*1
County agencies	*
Miscellaneous	*
Total	138 ²

¹ Asterisks (*) indicate less than 0.5 of one percent.

² This means that every 100 persons prefer 138 different sources.

obtained information from 112 sources, as contrasted with 117 for the earlier years. This may indicate increasing confidence in certain sources.

In contradistinction to these data, Table 3 shows the sources from which these women would prefer to obtain contraceptive information. The notable points here are the overwhelming preference for the doctor as a source, and the relatively substantial secondary preference for the clinic. If these two sources are contrasted with the actual extent to which these same agencies gave information to these women, there would appear to be a demand for a tenfold increase in the availability of clinical information, and approximately a 50 percent increase in contraceptive information from doctors.

There were some interesting variations in these preferences for doctor or clinic when the sample was broken down in various ways; e.g., only 84 percent in the south gave preference to doctors as against 90 percent for the rest of the country; clinics were in highest favor in the east (30 percent)

and lowest in the midwest (14 percent). Jews expressed the greatest preference for clinics (33 percent), with Protestants (20 percent) and Catholics (18 percent) in that order. There was also an increase of preference for clinics among the older respondents. Of those under 25 years, 16 percent preferred clinics; 25-34 years, 21 percent; 35-45 years, 23 percent.

Sources other than doctor or clinic were far less frequently preferred and there was considerable variation in these preferences. Druggists were preferred by 2 percent of those in the east; 17 percent in the south; 2 percent in the midwest; and 5 percent in the far west. Closely related to this, and apparently consistent with it, the south also favored books, pamphlets, and advertisements more than did respondents from other areas.

	Books	Pamphlets	Advertisements
East	2	3	2
South	8	12	8
Midwest	2	1	3
Far west	5	1	2

Preference for mother and friends appeared to decrease with age:

	Mother	Friends
Under 25	13	3
25-34	7	2
34-45	6	1

Religious counselor was preferred by 4 percent of the Catholics, and by less than 0.5 percent of the Protestants and of the Jews.

In conclusion, it is interesting to note that, although 61 percent of the respondents obtained information from doctors, clinics, and nurses, only 18 percent actually use a diaphragm.² Yet it is logical to assume that most of those who use a diaphragm must have obtained it from one of these three sources, since a diaphragm is supposed to be fitted. This discrepancy may be due to one or more of three factors (although the data gave no idea of the relative force of each factor): (1) doctors and clinics may not universally recommend diaphragm; (2) diaphragm is a relatively new method and much of the information was obtained sometime ago; and (3) diaphragm may have been recommended but not permanently accepted by the patient. This possibility raises the very important question of the psychological and physiological acceptability of this method. This question cannot be answered by the present data, but it merits further study.

² No data were obtained on methods originally recommended, or methods employed immediately after obtaining the information.

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THE PRACTICAL APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGY

WALTER WEBSTER ARGOW
New York University

MANKIND is confronted on all sides with an apparently ominous pyramiding of problems, both social and individual. Therefore, it seems appropriate that students of social science should ask themselves what can be done about social problems. This is not at all a call to social action in a revolutionary sense; rather, it states a point of view and is offered in the hope that it will stimulate discussion which may lead to a definite program.¹

The question implied in the title has been asked the writer frequently by students, laymen, and members of other professions. The student wants to know point-blank, "What does a major in sociology prepare me for?" The layman asks in effect, "Can a sociologist give me any help in solving these problems which threaten my welfare and even my sanity?" The practitioner of another profession cuttingly and rightfully queries, "How can we work cooperatively on this pathological condition which lies before us?" What is the sociologist's answer?

Sociology, we evasively answer, is a young science. It is just forging the tools with which it can accomplish its tasks. Already it is supplying the student with an understanding of how men have lived together through the ages. This is useful in weighing the ways of other peoples and in recognizing our own social trends. Some sociologists will even go so far as to say that it is not our job to supply the impatient student with a handy technique so that he can go out and peddle his services on the open market. Their stand is that sociology is not a "technical" but a "cultural" subject which contributes to the richness of one's education and character and gives scope to his point of view.

Such replies do not satisfy the present-day student who is either forced or urged to have his educational investment pay him quicker and more specific dividends. Unfortunately, with the emphasis on immediacy in the contemporary scene, it is the subject with a visible pecuniary future which the student elects and pays for; and it is the student's fees which often mold the schedule of courses, whether one finds this state of affairs pleasant or not. It is only the heavily endowed (and often influenced by donors) college which can withstand student "curriculum conditioning" and direct them

¹ Neither is this meant exactly as a reply to Nels Anderson's challenge in the April 1940, *Amer. Sociol. Rev.* [Readers of this article may also be interested in a pamphlet prepared by the American Sociological Society entitled "Occupations of the Members," which lists about 250 occupations other than teaching and research. It may be had by writing to the Managing Editor.—R.B.]

in the pursuit of a more genteel philosophy of education. For sociology's future welfare there is—and must be—an adjustment of this conflict; and that which hurts the sociologist's ears most is not the babble of inquirers after his work but the increasing thunder of silence.

Certain sociologists² in the past have offered a compromise in a program of an "applied" or "clinical" sociology. By borrowing terms from other fields, sociologists were visualized as the *problem setters* or the *mobilizers of social forces* or *social engineers* in our culture, but *these* titles do not appear on any payroll. Social workers and social researchers were once also considered as applied sociologists until they turned their backs on their doddering old parent and even changed their names slightly.³ Aside from increasingly popular courses in social problems, which offer everything from an informative investigation of contemporary conditions to a technique for the intelligent perusal of the daily news, applied sociology seems to be in that pleasant state known as suspended animation. Nevertheless, it is the writer's contention that the academic principles of sociology can be applied in the clinical arena in a sufficiently technical manner as to satisfy the requirements of therapeutic practice, and thus likewise assure the prospective student of the economic utility of what he is fast coming to consider only as a "snap" elective to round out his credits and stimulate his mind.

Precisely what would an applied sociologist do? Bernard and his collaborators have indicated clearly in *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*⁴ with what specialties sociologists are concerned scholastically. We ask, in what capacities are they employed professionally? The following six types of work are suggested as offering opportunities for the professional application of sociology.

1. The *Social Science Analyst* is a title utilized by the Federal Civil Service Commission to designate those persons with a special sociological bent who are also trained for research work, whether it be in community backgrounds, ecology, or family relations. Using various research techniques, the social science analyst applies the principles he has learned in his chosen field of sociology. He also may be employed under some other title by social service agencies for survey and evaluation work. The important thing to note is that he is an applied sociologist with a specific technique.

2. In the past few years, there has been developed a service for evaluating the work of social institutions and agencies, museums, philanthropic foundations, and even businesses, for which the terms *Sociometry* and *Sociatry*⁵ have been suggested. This requires a person who is half sociologist and half public relations counselor. For example, a person of the writer's ac-

² Notably Giddings, Wirth, and Fairchild.

³ To case worker and social science analyst respectively.

⁴ *The Fields and Methods of Sociology*, New York, 1934, edited by L. L. Bernard.

⁵ Terms used by G. A. Lundberg and A. M. Lee respectively.

quaintance, who calls herself a "market analyst," is employing clinically the principles of cultural and folk sociology to predict the trend of buying preference of various social, racial, and geographic groups. Another, a "sociatrist," is trying to cure a sick museum of a bad case of anachronism, while one more intrepid spirit has hung out his shingle as "consulting sociologist" with a motley array of clients paying for his analytical services.⁶

3. The "area projects" in community coordination being carried on notably by Shaw *et al.* in Chicago and Thrasher in New York belong in a discussion of applied sociology. Such workers might be called *community service coordinators*, and have developed special techniques based upon a firm sociological foundation of community study.

4. In one of the most logical places, one rarely finds a sociologist employed, but surely our correctional systems have need of sociological services. It is sobering to contemplate that the plan sociology's staunch friend, William Healy, submitted⁷ for a Youth-Justice Tribunal listed the services of a psychiatrist, psychologist, educator, and case worker, *but no sociologist*. Only Illinois⁸ and Michigan have places on their correctional staffs today for a sociologist—and the latter state's definition of a sociologist's duties more accurately describe the province of the social case worker.⁹

In lamenting this situation, the writer recently was unsympathetically reminded by a distinguished psychologist that sociology has not offered its services in the correctional clinic as has psychology. Here certainly is the testing ground of applied sociology, for the sociologist must appear as technical in his *social diagnosis* as the psychiatrist in his statement on mental health. Therefore, the writer suggests that a sociologist could add the following data to the services of any human behavior clinic:¹⁰

- a. an interpretation of the early racial and cultural antecedents of the subject and its relation to his present behavior;
- b. recent community backgrounds as precipitating factors in the current behavior;
- c. extent to which the subject's behavior is consonant with the family behavior pattern;

⁶ Similar to this are the experiences of a "consulting social worker." See L. R. Steiner, "Case Work as a Private Venture," *The Family*, Oct. 1938, 188 ff. Not to be confused with the case cited above.

⁷ In his paper given before the 1939 meeting of the American Sociological Society, but changed in the article printed in the *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, Aug. 1940.

⁸ Illinois' sociologists have mostly been occupied with actuarial parole prediction studies. Now that Wisconsin has employed a sociologist as director of the division of correction perhaps others in the profession will be given an opportunity to prove their worth.

⁹ C. M. Greenstreet, "Sociological Study of the Criminal," *The Treatment of the Criminal*, 4, Lansing, Mich., State Dept. of Corrections, 1939.

¹⁰ The following types of behavior clinics should find a clinical sociologist useful: (1) child guidance or mental hygiene clinic; (2) school child behavior clinic (educational sociologist); (3) hospital for mental diseases; (4) court diagnostic clinic; and (5) training school or prison classification clinic.

d. social factors to be considered in the differential diagnosis; and
 e. social strengths and weaknesses to be utilized or guarded against in the treatment plan.

5. Although it may precipitate a lengthy dispute, *social case workers* should be included among the applied sociologists; however their work should not be confused with the preceding specialties. Said former Supt. Howard Gill, of Norfolk (Mass.) Penal Colony:

Should we not distinguish between what is the province of the research workers and what are the problems of the clinical workers in writing case histories and making social diagnoses? The research worker looks for everything in the hope that he might find something. The clinical worker, if he has developed any technique, will . . . look for certain information and will recognize symptoms.¹¹

The social worker is given the task of recording those social data which have an immediate bearing on the case, together with the subjects's personal reactions to them. His work differs from the clinical sociologist's mainly in the degree to which he can analyze the antecedent social conditioning factors of behavior. His focus is on the more immediate problem and the subject's attitudes, while the sociologist's concern is with the type of social pattern in the background as it bears upon his present behavior.

6. The final member of the applied sociology family to be mentioned here is what H. P. Fairchild calls the *social engineer*.¹² The title is not found in any classified list of occupations and when the newspapers try to describe such a person they are liable to refer to him as "social reformer," "social planner or designer," or "well-known liberal." He is the man, usually quite mature and prominent, who gets either behind or ahead of a group recommending a particular social change and maneuvers it into a reality. He is not a radical or a visionary or a malcontent, but a scientist well grounded in the principles of sociology who attempts to apply them so as to improve our design for living.¹³

These, then, are the workers the writer has in mind if and when he is called upon to defend the public utility of sociology, although the sociologists as a group have yet to recognize them professionally. There remains, after that, the task of organizing a set of courses for training in these specialties around a core of sociological fundamentals. It may be possible then for us to boast quietly that we have finally succeeded in socializing our own curriculum and contributed more than a cultural background to the contemporary collegian's education.

¹¹ Commons, Yahkub, and Powers, *The Development of Penological Treatment at Norfolk Prison Colony*, 126, New York, Bureau of Social Hygiene, 1940.

¹² Course given at New York University, 1938-1939.

¹³ Between the social engineer and the social worker lies the field of the *public service administrator*, who is part of both and distinctly an applied sociologist. For an example of the use of sociology in public service administration, see articles on the indices of community "social breakdown" in *The Family*, Jan. 1941, by E. W. Burgess *et al.*

A SOCIAL SCIENCE FIELD LABORATORY¹

WILLIAM HENDERSON AND B. W. AGINSKY

New York University

THE development of the social sciences, particularly in the research field, has brought with it the need for a social science laboratory which would be a converging point for the various disciplines. Many have felt that such a laboratory should be more than a central coordinating bureau. It should be located in a cultural area which would provide adequate material for all of the social sciences and yet be small enough to be studied as a whole. To meet this need, the Social Sciences Field Laboratory was established in 1939 by B. W. and E. G. Aginsky under the auspices of New York University.

The Laboratory has three general aims. The first is to make a long-term study of a culture from the points of view of all of the social sciences. This involves the historical reconstruction of the past and an historical study of the "future," that is, a careful analysis of culture change and culture integration as these are taking place. It will include all aspects of the area under study from the standpoint of the various disciplines, such as sociology, social work, psychology, psychiatry, anthropology, economics, law, medicine, political science, and history. The second aim is to provide supervised training in field work and research at the predoctoral level, and facilities for professional social scientists. Third, the Laboratory aims to test established techniques, methods, theories, and conclusions, with the possibility of refining and developing them, and arriving at new ones.

The Laboratory was located in a northern California community. It is about forty miles from the coast and a hundred miles north of San Francisco. The community is small enough to be comprehended as a whole (population, about 8000). The only city in the valley (population, about 4000) is the county seat. The community is not subsidiary to any large city, though of course it has many contacts with the outside world. The nearest towns, which lie to the north and south, are smaller than the county seat; to the east and west, there are no nearby towns of any size. Though small, the community contains practically every aspect of contemporary society. Stratification is rather rigid along social, economic, and racial lines, although the various classes interact rather freely with each other in community affairs. The presence of several racial and national groupings, particularly a large group of Pomo Indians, who were aboriginal in the area, gives rise to caste and class phenomena with various manifestations of

¹ Based on the paper read by William Henderson at the Eastern Sociological Society meeting, March 1940. E. G. Aginsky also read a similar paper at the meetings of the American Anthropological Association, at Philadelphia, Dec. 1940. These papers are the work of various members of the Laboratory.

discrimination and prejudice. There are first generation Italians, Chinese, Filipinos, and Mexicans in the community.

Large scale fruit farming and its industrial complements, canneries and wineries, provide a mixture of the agricultural and industrial. Small businesses, chain stores, and a wide variety of associations such as trade unions, business men's associations, social clubs, national societies, etc., give the community a high degree of self-sufficiency. It is a fairly self-contained economic, political, and social unit.

Written sources from the first white settlement to the present are profuse and various. In addition, there are some individuals alive at the present time, both Indian and white, who were alive at the first important white contact. The people, for the most part, are friendly toward the outsider and welcome participation in their everyday affairs. Like most people close to pioneer days, they are interested in the history of their community.

Breakdown of the more basic constellations of the Indian culture, competition between the alternative cultural elements, the impotence or absence of social controls that functioned in the aboriginal culture, and the only partial assimilation of controls offered by the white culture, provide a fruitful setting for the study of culture change and conflict. The limited acceptance of the Indian into the white economy forces a large measure of dependence upon federal, state, and county relief. The administration of this relief presents problems that have both theoretical and practical aspects. Through the wardship of the Indian, the government is constantly confronted with pressing problems of both personal and social control.

The social, economic, and political life of the community is closely connected with large scale fruit farming, canning, and wine manufacturing. The impact of seasonal changes and crop variations upon community life afford interesting opportunities for studying cyclical and periodic behavior.

In addition to the usual variety in religious organization and practice, this community offers a fine illustration of what happens when a subordinate culture has only partially accepted the beliefs and practices of the dominant culture. The result is peculiar or anomalous forms apparently inconsistent with both the white and aboriginal cultures. This conflict between cultures has produced numerous types of behavior in all phases of life which seem well worth intensive study, e.g., the psychological, educational, and social problems which develop with bilingual and bicultural groups; the practical social work problems; medical care and health education; the study of the organized group, particularly in the form of the Indian rancheria; the psychology of language; and so on. Studies of this bicultural community, continued over a long period, can be tested for consistency by comparison with data collected and analyzed in other projects dealing with this and other communities.

The groundwork for reception of the laboratory workers had been laid

by the prolonged work of the director and associate director who had been on three previous trips to study this area. They were also familiar with the other scientific work that had been done in the area and had become personally acquainted with a large number of Indian and white informants, Indian agents, and local people, as well as with those anthropologists who have long been actively interested in the Pomo culture. The first laboratory group was organized in 1939. It consisted of the Director, B. W. Aginsky, the Associate Director, E. G. Aginsky, five graduate students, and three college seniors. The 1940 group consisted of the Director, Associate Director, three of the first year students who returned as staff members, three graduate students, and three college seniors. Of the fourteen students, representing eleven universities, nine were men and five were women. These students were drawn from the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, economics, and education. The resulting papers have been used as theses and dissertations.

The Field Laboratory, which is on a fellowship basis, carries nine semester credits. The work is now given in an eight weeks' summer course.² Fellowship grants vary upon the basis of individual merit and need. The field research expenses, including travel in the field and incidentals, are paid by the Laboratory. The students select their own projects. Among those already treated are: the place of women in the culture, the preadolescent child, ecology, subsistence economy, legal psychology, religion, public opinion, mobility, the infant, death, aboriginal money, the dance, the deviant, the female migrant. The work so far has been oriented toward the study of culture change, concentrating particularly upon the modern situation in the community as it affects the Indian.

In the field, workers are encouraged to gather as much material as possible on the subject of their own investigation. At the same time, they are cautioned, in view of the long-term nature of the Laboratory, to consider all material as relevant. The nature of the field work includes interviews with Indian and white informants, participation in both Indian and white social events, visits to different parts of the wider Pomo territory, the obtaining of autobiographies, and in general, as much participation as possible in the daily life of the community. Several members of the group spent some time in gathering data on the community from records available in Sacramento, San Francisco, and Berkeley. Besides maps and written data gathered for the permanent record of the Laboratory, movies and a large number of still pictures were made of daily events, members of the community, and physical aspects of the community. All data were immediately transferred to permanent records ready for the use of all the members of the Laboratory. Copies were retained for the files of the Laboratory.

² Cf. *Amer. Sociol. Rev.*, April 1940, 248.

The actual field work is supplemented by two hours of daily lecture and discussion on the Pomo culture, techniques of research, and methodology. Besides those of the Director and Associate Director, lectures have been given by a considerable number of visiting scientists.

The direction taken by the Laboratory depends considerably on the formulation of future plans. Thus far, the emphasis has been on the Indian culture. It is thought this is the logical approach for a long-term study of the community because the Indians are the original inhabitants and have influenced the community to a great extent, and also because those persons who had actual contact with the aboriginal setting at the time of the white contact will soon be dead.

As soon as possible, the Laboratory will be kept functioning fully throughout the year. In this community, which is highly affected by the seasonal changes, there are wide differences throughout the year and a continuously functioning laboratory is essential for observing the continuity of the culture in its periodic and cyclical phases. A start has been made by maintaining one member of the Laboratory in the field from June 1939 to August 1940.

While the Laboratory will not be controlled by any single person or group, there will be sufficient continuity of personnel to guarantee a continuation of the original aims of the long-term project covering all aspects of a culture. One of the plans is to obtain a permanent building with living accommodations for scientists and facilities for study and work. A large library upon this area, typewriters, files, and camping equipment already have been accumulated. While the Laboratory is at present serving as a training ground for students who, in most cases, have had no field experience, it is hoped that it will soon be used extensively by seasoned professional scholars. The Laboratory hopes to raise sufficient funds to take care of many expenses which now must be borne by the individual workers.

A great deal of social research is being done but results are seldom tested by further research, either by the original investigators or by others. Even when work is repeated or when it is criticized, the reports are often published in journals that are obscure or difficult of access. This makes it exceedingly difficult for interested individuals to consult these reports. With this in mind, the Laboratory aims to consolidate all of the material already published, accumulate notes and manuscript material, and eventually to publish a monograph series covering all the work done on this area.

It is worth repeating that no relatively unitary community has ever been under constant correlated observation by all the social sciences over a long period of time. It is the purpose of the Laboratory to remedy this defect in social research. We believe that the successful culmination of such a plan will be of great value to social scientists in all fields.

FASCISM AND THE CHURCH

ROLAND L. WARREN

Hofstra College, Hempstead, New York

THE growth of fascism has given new meaning to the age-old struggle of church and state. Ultimately, there is not room for the ideals of fascism and those of the church in any given country, for each is set up as a creed and an institution designed to demand complete submission from the individual. One logically supersedes the other, for however their beliefs may vary, their structure and methods are similar in many important respects, and they appear therefore mutually exclusive. Fascism in Germany, for instance, may well fear the power of the church, for it has learned the methods by which that power has been held for centuries.

I am going to compare the implementation of fascism with that of the Roman Catholic Church, because the latter has, in my opinion, the most effective organization of any European religion.¹ In making such a comparison, I shall not attempt to evaluate goals, nor to contrast ideologies, but rather to show a noteworthy similarity in structure and methods which has been neglected by current students of sociology. Nor do I assert that such similarities represent conscious borrowing by the fascists, but a comparison of these similarities reveals problems of fundamental importance.²

Structure. First, democratic control is foreign to the hierarchy of the Church and also to that of fascism. Authority does not come from the great masses of people, but rather flows down from above. In the Church, the Pope is responsible only to God. All authority flows from him. Responsibility is upward to the few rather than downward to the many. Important matters of doctrine are decided by the upper few, and the great mass of members is given no voice in the decision. In the words of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, "To some it belongs to govern and to teach; to others, to be subject and to obey."

With the rise of nationalism, the doctrine of the divine right of kings afforded a secular parallel. All were responsible to the king, but the king only to God. The practice, as it is established in fascism, is even stronger. In the words of Adolf Hitler: "Everywhere is dominant the idea of personality—its authority downwards and its responsibility upwards to the higher persons." Fascists protest that the highest leader is indeed respon-

¹ Hereafter "Church" will be capitalized and will refer to the Roman Catholic Church.

² All institutions show a characteristic structure of ideology, implementation, and emotional support. Indeed, it is only through the use of such terms that the word "institution" can be meaningfully defined. Similarities could be found to exist between fascism and many other institutions in Western culture, such as capitalism, democracy, the family, etc. Each has its theoretical justification, social implementation, and methods of maintaining popular support. In many respects institutions may overlap in one or all of these three factors. The similarity between any institutions should hence be taken as a matter of degree.

sible to the people, but we find here an abstraction to the extent that an analysis of the German concept of *Volk* will show that it is divorced from any mere summation of the citizens of the state. The *Volk* does not represent a people of flesh and blood, but rather it is a highly abstract concept with little meaning in it. Furthermore, any such responsibility to the people is, in effect, a responsibility to do what the leader thinks or says is good for the people. No free expression of the opinion of the people as to their own good is allowed.

Now, the striking thing about this comparison of hierarchical structures is that within each the people are given to understand that they are not qualified to determine their own good. In the case of the Church, of course, we have the establishment of beliefs and practices based on the Word of God by His own representatives. In fascism, we have what is proclaimed to be the mission and destiny of a people, something which here, also, is not entrusted to the people's own discrimination.

Strict and unquestioning obedience is necessary in both cases. All purely personal wishes must be sacrificed for the good of the institutional order, whether of Church or of state. Such submissiveness needs to be carefully fostered. The methods employed to do this will be discussed later. One other point might be mentioned in connection with obedience to an undemocratic hierarchical structure. In both cases, they are based upon a doctrinal system which justifies them. Just as the Bible is used as the source and verification of all authority in the Church, and just as its fundamental truths may not be questioned nor ignored, so, too, with German Nazism's bible, *Mein Kampf*. The one justifies the basic structure of the Church; the other, of national socialism. They are competing for a place which only one of them can maintain: the revelation and source of absolute authority.

Unquestioned obedience and submission to those in authority is made particularly plausible in fascism, as in the Church, by pointing to enemies within and enemies without. Both institutions are organized on a fighting basis. It has long been realized that fascism must create scapegoats and "causes" if its rigid control is to survive. The great danger which threatens the people and the victorious fight of the state over adverse and insidious forces are constantly being emphasized. In fascism, we have such Quixotian windmills as Jews, Communists, signers of the Versailles Treaty, and the Church. The Church, too, has its threatening forces such as communism, fascism (but of course, less in Italy and Spain than in Germany), the Devil, and the temptations of this world. The Devil has been a convenient personification of those forces which work for the overthrow of the Church and its principles. He represents evil. Without trying to push the analogy too far, it might be asserted that where Nazi fascism in Europe has gained ascendancy over the Church, the Jew replaces the Devil as the source of all evil.

The Church is more interested in saving the soul than in making it happy. The attitude, therefore, is not so much, Look how we have improved your

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earthly status!, as, Look what we have saved you from! Likewise, the necessity for something-to-be-saved-from early made itself apparent in fascism. Indeed, many people believe that once the people begin to ask the question, Where is it getting us?, rather than, What is it saving us from?, the collapse of fascism will be at hand. Fascism is a fighting philosophy. It must have battles and triumphs. We also have the Church Militant and the Church Triumphant.

Both Church and fascistic state are organized for constant combat with purely material values. In the case of the Church, they are combatted as instruments of the Devil, too likely to divert the faithful from the truly spiritual path. In fascistic countries, they are minimized as a product of a democracy ravishing itself on personal material pleasure at the expense of the nation and its fate. It is contrary to the higher values of loyalty, love of country, sacrifice, etc. Students of fascism have not been remiss in recognizing the fact that a deemphasis of the material pleasures and comforts of a people is particularly convenient to a regime which is diverting a large proportion of the nation's income into armaments and propaganda.

One other comparison of a tendency which is basic to the structure of both Church and fascism will be mentioned. Fascism is born of a rampant nationalism. It has constantly fought all internationalism not dominated by it. Cosmopolitanism is taboo. Absolute loyalty to one's own national unit and absolute conviction that all nonfascist internationalism must be combatted are inherent in its very foundation. Adolf Hitler could not long cooperate with other political leaders in a League of Nations. Internationalism was for him intimately connected with communism, and the whole thing was somehow a plot of Jewish bankers. Yet, with the Nazi-made opportunity for a fascist Europe at hand, Hitler is only too anxious to be its unifier. Historians have long recognized this policy in the Church. *Divide et impera* has always been the Church policy where it feared that it could not dominate the coalition. The Holy Roman Empire, representing a strong international order in its dominant period, was perfectly justifiable so long as the subordination of the emperor to the Pope was established. With the rise of nation states, however, the Church found nationalism more in keeping with its aims. In recent years, the Church has frowned upon any internationalism which it might not dominate, and, indeed, political and economic internationalists have been numbered among its foremost enemies.

Fascism has adopted the same basic policies, and this fact, if nothing else, makes it clear that fascism and the Church can not both exist permanently in the same continental area unless they somehow adjust their differences and combine. Neither loathes internationalism *per se*; but both will fight it so long as they cannot dominate the international order.³

Methods. No sharp division can be made between structure and method,

³ Here we rapidly approach the borderline between structure and method. This characteristic might easily be considered under the latter heading.

for an institution has methods as a basic part of its structure. In abstraction, ideas may be dissociated from their implementation, but the more efficient the organization, the more difficult it is to separate them. For purposes of analysis, the division has been made here between characteristics considered basic to institutions and those which are mere expedients.

An expedient which has for centuries been used by the Church to assure the continuity of its existence is the early indoctrinating of youth with its tenets. Fascists adopted the same procedure. Indeed, the contest for German youth which temporarily at least must be conceded to the Nazis is more fully appreciated when a proper realization is obtained of the tendency of the two institutions to be, through their similar methods, mutually exclusive. In Nazi Germany, there is no room for the parochial education of youth. It is as inimical to Nazism as its opposite is to the Church. Young Germans can be educated to serve Hitler or to serve God, but ultimately not both, unless the institutions merge and the Church proclaims unqualifiedly that to serve Hitler is to serve God. Then we would, indeed, be witnessing a streamlining of the divine right of kings doctrine, a contingency which has much less probability in Germany than in Spain or Italy.

The indoctrination of youth takes the form, not merely of a simple teaching of beliefs and doctrines, but becomes more active in youth organizations, designed to afford opportunity for further teaching and also to give children a feeling of "togetherness" in the common cause.

This latter instrument finds its more mature counterpart in adult organizations. Monasticism has for centuries served the purpose of providing organized groups working for the furtherance of the Church. Fascism made an even more widespread and militant organization of adult activities, with the state and its aims and doctrines the chief focal point. Characteristically, the fascists soon learned the value of clothing the groups in special uniforms, to promote a greater *esprit de corps*. Fascism also learned that martyrs are a great help to any cause and so it soon had its Horst Wessels to absorb some of the admiration and sympathy which formerly were given to the saints.

A word might be added about rituals and feast days. The Germans, with their encouragement of neopaganism, have made the celebration of the summer solstice into a ritual of massive proportions. In new stadia, such as the Heidelberg *Thingstätte*, such celebrations assume impressive proportions. Those who are familiar with the *Nürnberger Parteitag* know that it leaves little to the imagination in adopting every possible means of ritual and decoration to achieve its desired effect, a phenomenon comparable in many respects to the Church's Ecumenical Congresses. The interminable *Chorgespräche* of the German radio stations have much in common with responsive readings. Ritual and celebrations give German Nazism its counterpart for masses and feast days.

Finally, we come to the expediency of forbidding the faithful to read

books and articles hostile to the cause. The Church has maintained its *Index* since as long ago as 1559, a list of forbidden writings containing editions of original texts and old translations of the Bible by non-Catholics, books defending heresy and schism, books attacking religion, books defending divorce, etc. Nazis, too, have their Index. The "burning of the books" kindled a fire of intellectual disgust which has spread to all parts of the democratic world. Books by Jews, "unpatriotic" books, pacifistic writings, communist literature—all are suppressed. Considered particularly dangerous is any description of Hitler's early life which does not agree with *Mein Kampf*.

Questions. Other parallels could be drawn. Sufficient has been given to demonstrate a fundamental similarity of basic structure and implementation. Further study might be directed toward the following questions.

Are the two systems mutually exclusive, as has been maintained, and does the increasing vigor of one point toward the downfall of the other?

Will the Church therefore find itself forced to make peace with fascism, a peace which would mean the renunciation of whatever the Church has to say in favor of democracy?

In that case, has the nightmare of a fascistic domination of Europe with the Church as its most effective cohort and apologist become a possibility?

The last question is momentous. The demand of both institutions for unwavering loyalty in spheres which overlap, and the necessity for each to eliminate the other if it is to hold full sway, make conflicts inevitable. So long as the Church succeeds, fascism will fail; the reverse, however, is also true, and the Church cannot be making the error of ignoring it.

Temporarily in Germany and more recently in Italy, fascism has succeeded in taking precedence over the Church in actual sway of the people. It is well known that the Church stood opposed to Italy's entrance into the present war, and that through the *Osservatore Romano* it did much to clarify the issues which supported Italy's neutrality at a time when the controlled Italian press was in the fury of its prowar campaign. The great increase in the circulation of the *Osservatore Romano* was a gauge of the influence which the Church was still exercising. But this influence was not sufficient, and the Church little by little has had to give in.

I have shown that the place where the two institutions overlap is that of structure and method. Their disparity, however, is one of idealism. It is here that the Church, in order to maintain its institutional strength, may have to reinterpret its ideals in accordance with those of fascism. It would thus become the complete implement of the state, with a hierarchy and an implementation particularly suited to the needs of fascistic dictatorship. Such a coalition could dominate occidental culture, but only at great cost to the fundamental principles for which the Church has stood. Its power would be increased, but its power to do good and fearlessly to proclaim and defend the right would be dissolved.

COMPARISON OF THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE CHURCH, GERMAN FASCISM, AND THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Institutional Characteristics	The Church	German Fascism	U. S. Government
1. Structure	aristocratic	aristocratic	democratic
2. Direction of flow of power	downward	downward	upward
3. Revelation	Bible	<i>Mein Kampf</i>	Declaration of Independence; Constitution
Real or imagined foes	communism the Devil physical things	communism Jews physical things	"Unamericanism" "radicals"
5. Attitude toward internationalism which it does not dominate	squarely opposed	squarely opposed	amenable, with qualifications
6. Degree of indoctrination of youth, where possible	full	full	partial
7. Disciplined "orders"	monks nuns clergy a host of others	armed forces S.S., S.A. Hitler Youth a host of others	armed forces Am. Legion, D.A.R., Boy Scouts, etc.
8. Chief symbol	cross	swastika	flag
9. Ritual	mass, etc. Ecumenical Congress	holiday celebrations party conference	holiday celebrations legislative and judicial ritual, party conventions
10. Attitude toward expression of opinion	rigid censorship	rigid censorship	modified freedom

Is such a catastrophe an idle dream? There are those who believe that the day is not far off when the Church in Germany will have to cast its lot on the one side or the other, for a victory for temporal power or for a victory in spiritual values. Some see in Italy, in the hesitant acceptance of the Ethio-

pian conquest, in the failure of the Church to come out more strongly against governmental abuses, a step further in this direction. They point to a further step already taken in Spain, the affiliation of the Church with the fascists as an expediency against the alleged threat of communism. The rise of antisemitism in America under the leadership of such men as Father Coughlin gives many Americans cause for alarm.

There are two viewpoints as to the tactics the Church might employ, if it is to take a definite stand against fascism. The one would be that which maintains the Church can best cope with fascism by "beating it at its own game," that is, by striving through its similarly authoritarian structure and implementation to win its followers away from those ideals of fascism to which it is opposed. The assumption would be that if the basic psychological and sociological needs which fascism plays upon can be fulfilled by the Church toward socially constructive goals, fascism will be but a poor competitor. Opposition to this viewpoint is based on two arguments: first, that the Church has had little success in Germany and Italy by the use of such tactics; and second, that ideals are so closely interwoven with implementation that the Church would have to become increasingly fascistic to do it.

This leads to the second alternative. Many students believe that the Church, in order to be a bulwark against fascism, must modify those phases of its activities which are least amenable to the democratic spirit, and all those aspects which tend to make it a state within a state. The question here is, can the Church do this and still maintain its avowed mission of calling men to a better life than that which we have, and of preserving a loyalty to ultramundane values based on revelation? If not, which is to take precedence?

The accompanying chart will help throw light on this question. The inclusion of the United States government in the comparison helps point out how it, as an institution, has many things in common with the other two. It is significant, however, that on those factors which Americans consider decisive in differentiating democracy from fascism, responsibility of government to those governed (1, 2), and attitude toward the free expression of opinion (10), the Church's position is much closer to that of fascism. However dissimilar the underlying causes may be, both apparently agree that the people are not capable of determining their own good, and that decisions handed down from above must be unquestioningly accepted.

In Europe, the rise of fascism was so sudden as to be overwhelming. Some capitulation or compromise by the Church was necessary. In America, the Church still has time to take its stand and to dig its spiritual trenches. Either of the two viewpoints analyzed above may be chosen.

A QUALIFICATION OF THE MARGINAL MAN THEORY

MILTON M. GOLDBERG
Columbia University

THIS paper suggests a qualification of the theory of the "marginal man" as conceived by Park¹ and elaborated by Stonequist.² The concept around which this qualification is oriented is that of the "marginal culture." Anthropologists have sometimes used this term to refer to a distant or border culture, but it will be used in this discussion as a nongeographical equivalent of the anthropological concept of "marginal area." The "marginal area" is conceived as a region where two cultures overlap and where the occupying group partakes of the traits of both cultures. The essence of our qualification is contained in the following statement by Goldenweiser: "Psychologically, the marginal area is but a type of culture area, for its cultural content is as much of a unit and has the same value to its human carriers as the content of a full-fledged culture area."³ Stonequist, in considering this statement, disposes of it all too briefly with the remark that "Such marginal areas may or may not involve cultural conflict. When they do, we may also expect to find marginal men."⁴ His only other reference to the concept is an indirect one to the effect that "Again, the intermediate group—say of mixed-bloods—may be large enough to afford a moderately satisfying life."⁵

Here we may review briefly the Park and Stonequist exposition of the theory of the marginal man. When an individual shaped and moulded by one culture is brought by migration, education, marriage, or other influence into permanent contact with a culture of a different content, or when an individual from birth is initiated into two or more historic traditions, languages, political loyalties, moral codes, or religions, then he is likely to find himself on the margin of each culture, but a member of neither. Thus Park speaks of

... a cultural hybrid, a man living and sharing intimately in the cultural life and traditions of two distinct peoples; never quite willing to break, even if he were permitted to do so, with his past and his traditions, and not quite accepted, because of racial prejudice, in the new society in which he now sought to find a place. He was a man on the margin of two cultures and two societies which never completely interpenetrated and fused.⁶

¹ R. E. Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, May 1928, 881-893.

² Everett V. Stonequist, "The Problem of the Marginal Man," *Amer. J. Sociol.*, July 1935, 1-12. *The Marginal Man*, New York, 1937.

³ A. Goldenweiser, "Cultural Anthropology," 245, in *History and Prospects of the Social Sciences*, H. E. Barnes, ed., New York, 1925.

⁴ Stonequist, *op. cit.*, 213.

⁵ Stonequist, *loc. cit.*, 111.

⁶ Park, *loc. cit.*, 892.

And Stonequist defines the marginal man as one who is

... poised in psychological uncertainty between two (or more) social worlds; reflecting in his soul the discords and harmonies, repulsions and attractions of these worlds, one of which is often "dominant" over the other; within which membership is implicitly if not explicitly based upon birth or ancestry (race or nationality); and where exclusion removes the individual from a system of group relations.⁷

The marginal man, it is pointed out, may be a racial (and cultural) hybrid, i.e., he may be a person of mixed racial ancestry, or he may be racially pure (relatively speaking) and yet participant in two cultures. In either case he is a "marginal" individual possessed of characteristic feelings and attitudes of insecurity, ambivalence excessive self-consciousness, and chronic nervous strain.

The qualification of this theory here suggested may be stated as follows. If (1) the so-called "marginal" individual is conditioned to his existence on the borders of two cultures from birth, if (2) he shares this existence and conditioning process with a large number of individuals in his primary groups, if (3) his years of early growth, maturation, and even adulthood find him participating in institutional activities manned largely by other "marginal" individuals like himself, and finally, if (4) his marginal position results in no major blockages or frustrations of his learned expectations and desires, then he is not a true "marginal" individual in the defined sense, but a participant member of a *marginal culture*, every bit as real and complete to him as is the nonmarginal culture to the nonmarginal man. This transposes Goldenweiser's remarks about the "unity" and "value" of the marginal culture *area* to a nongeographically based situation, for, beyond the family and the early play group, the concept of the marginal culture does not depend on geographical but rather on institutional and associational proximity.

The presentation of the first three conditions postulated as prerequisite for the realization of the revised marginal man concept is based on a functional analysis of culture. The function of a culture is to provide the individual with norms, standardized behavior patterns, or in Thomas' phraseology, definitions of his situation. Although the marginal individual, then, may be aware of the immediate existence of one or more cultures other than his own to which he will be forced to react, if his own reaction patterns to these cultures are provided or defined by his own group, if he is not forced to *define the situation by himself*, and moreover, if these definitions have been instilled in him from birth onward so that he knows no others, then he is likely to be a stable and normal person participating in an integrated manner in the activities of a unitary culture. A point somewhat of this nature was made by Kurt Lewin, in an article dealing with the subject of the imposition of culture patterns on Jewish children:

⁷ Stonequist, *loc. cit.*, 8.

In judging the importance of experiences related to our belonging to, or our status in, a social group, or related to any other constituents of the ground on which we stand, one should not give much weight to the frequency or the unpleasantness of those experiences themselves. Instead, one should consider the meaning of those experiences in terms of how much the structure of the life-space of the individual is changed. . . . It is of first importance that a stable social ground be laid very early. . . . The variety of social structures to which a growing child can adapt himself in a relatively stable way is astonishingly great. It seems, however, extremely difficult to establish a new stable social ground after one has broken down.⁸

It is evident then that the concept of the marginal culture does not apply very well to the typical immigrant, even when he proceeds immediately to a ghetto and there finds solace and comfort among his compatriots. For the norms and behavior patterns which he has absorbed and made a part of himself over a long period of years are inadequate to meet the new situation, and although the ghetto group hastily devises new definitions, these are impositions on a mature personality and can never erase the old perspective, and thus the immigrant usually remains for the rest of his life a marginal man.

The fourth prerequisite, namely, that of nonfrustration of acquired expectations and desires, is based on observation of the fact that a subordinate or marginal culture may give the individual definitions of his situation which are inadequate—inadequate in the sense that they conflict or are in contrast with definitions provided him by the other culture or cultures in which he is participating. Thus the northern reasonably well-educated Negro has been conditioned by his own Negro culture to a realization of his position as a member of a subordinate caste, but formally in the schools, and informally in the wider white culture around him, he has been taught to evaluate the concepts of human equality, democracy, and freedom. Thus, the definitions of his situation made by the primary Negro culture are rejected, although the wishes generated by his contact with the dominant culture remain unsatisfied, and thus, in many instances, he becomes insecure and emotionally unstable, a typical marginal man.

One of the best illustrations of a true marginal culture—a situation which meets all the conditions referred to above—is the second or third generation Jewish immigrants residing in the United States, the sons, or grandsons of Jews who have come to America from European lands. The author of this paper, as a result of observation of the activities of members of this group and participation in them, is convinced that, although Stonequist's statement that "The Jew is likely to be a marginal man," and his reference to the Jew as "the classic illustration of this problem [of the marginal man]" may be historically valid, a valuable sociological focus on the situation of the Jew in America will be ignored if an analysis is not made in terms of the marginal culture concept. Stonequist makes use of many case-histories of

⁸ Kurt Lewin, "Bringing up the Child," *The Menorah Journal*, Jan.-March 1940, 35-36.

Jews in illustrating his theory of the marginal man, but most of these are case-histories of a selected nonmodal group, fairly high on the distribution curves of intelligence and sensitivity. Moreover, it is not necessary to prove that the marginal culture concept is applicable to all second-generation Jews in the United States, or even to a majority (a real possibility, however) in order to substantiate our thesis; it is sufficient to show that it is valid with regard to a definitely significant portion of the Jewish population.

The marginal culture of the second-generation Jew is a mixture of the cultural elements of immigrant Judaism provided by his family situation and of the elements contained in the wider Gentile culture in which he must function. A paragraph by Konrad Bercovici in the *Nation* some years ago describes certain aspects of the situation in New York City. His statement, although perhaps not an objective or fair one, at least shows a keen awareness of the phenomenon:

There is now a generation of Bronx Jews, quite distinct from the East Side Jew. It's the second-generation Jew with all the outward characteristics minus beard and mustache, playing baseball, great fight fans, commercial travelers, clean-shirted, white-collared, derby-hatted, creased-trousered. The women are stylish and stout, white-skinned, long-nosed, bediamonded; social workers, actresses, stumpspeakers, jazz dancers, with none of the color and the virtues of their erstwhile bearded, be-wigged parents, and a few vices of their own acquisition. But they bathe frequently.⁹

The validity of the marginal culture concept is, of course, most obvious with regard to the Jewish populations of the large metropolises such as New York, Chicago, and Boston. Moreover, within the metropolitan situation, because of the large numbers involved and the wide range of statuses to be found, it is even possible to distinguish the existence of subcultures within the greater marginal culture (but not "submarginal cultures," please!), based on social and economic position. However, it may be pointed out that in spite of the heavy urban concentration of the Jewish population, all Jews do not live in metropolitan areas. This is quite true and we must therefore take account of the situation as it exists in the medium-sized city. The author, from observing and participating in Jewish activities in three medium-sized New England cities, will now outline briefly the life history of a modal native-born Jew residing in such a community.

X was born in Urbana, population 100,000. His parents (or possibly merely his grandparents who reside with the family) came to the United States some years ago from a country in Eastern Europe. His father now owns a clothing store in the city's business section and has a moderate but comfortable income. There are possibly 1200 Jewish families in Urbana.

X's family lives in one of the better residential sections of Urbana. It is not a predominantly Jewish section (there are no *predominantly* Jewish residential areas in Urbana), but there are many Jewish neighbors interspersed among the Gentiles. His early play group probably contains a few Gentile children, but also many native-

⁹ Konrad Bercovici, "The Greatest Jewish City in the World," *Nation*, Sept. 12, 1923, 261.

born Jewish children like himself. In his home, he rarely encounters a Gentile except for a brief moment on a symbiotic level (the insurance man, the ice-man, the grocer's delivery boy, etc.). When he begins school he finds himself in the company of a large number of Gentile children, but other institutional activities will now begin to make his more intimate playgroup a closed affair. He will probably begin the study of Hebrew at a local Hebrew school and will go there after the public school session is over in the company of other Jewish children. His parents may also urge and encourage his association with members of his own "race." At this time, any former Gentile companions whom he might have had will begin to feel slightly uncomfortable when they follow him into the Jewish group, and, in complementary fashion, he will find himself ill at ease when alone in the Gentile group. Thus, by a gradual and unconscious process of mutual consent, the two groups are defined and from this time on *X* functions as a member of a Jewish playgroup.

As he grows older, *X* will play pingpong and basketball at the Urbana Young Men's Hebrew Association building or at the Jewish Community Center. If there are none of these in Urbana, there will be a Jewish club for young adolescents with clubrooms and gymnasium facilities. His regular attendance at the Synagogue will also begin now. At this time, he may be conscious of the existence of two cultures in his life-situation, the Jewish immigrant culture of his home and the Gentile culture of the outside world. He may even be somewhat ashamed of certain aspects of the former culture, as, for instance, the fact that his mother speaks broken English, but this feeling of shame arises only when he sees it brought to the attention of a Gentile. His Jewish friends, he knows, are more or less in the same situation, and they may freely observe the functioning of non-Gentile behavior patterns in his home without causing him any embarrassment. Vaguely, he realizes that his is not a purely personal problem but one that he shares with other members of his group.

In the high school, *X* may find a Jewish fraternity or club which he will join, or he may simply advance to the young men's branch of the Y.M.H.A., or Center, activities. Any of these organizations will now direct his newly awakened interest in the opposite sex along lines considered appropriate by the Jewish community. This means dating with Jewish girls¹⁰ only. Most of the girls he already knows, and together with the other members of his male group, he readily follows along the indicated path. If he ever dates a Gentile girl, later on in his school days, he does so usually alone, and may find it an unsatisfactory experience for it never becomes integrated into his group activity; he finds that he cannot share the experience with other members of the group except possibly as he relates it as an exploit. This is not to say that he has no contact with Gentiles, male and female, in school. Obviously he does, and he may even become prominent in, or participate in, the broad activities of the school, athletic or otherwise, thus mingling freely with the members of the non-Jewish group. These relationships, although usually friendly, are never intimate ones, and at all times his integrated group background is recognized by the Gentiles, and he, in turn, views his broader activities with his group focus.

If *X* goes to college, he finds the high school patterns present merely in more rigid form. He will join a Jewish fraternity, and either date only Jewish co-eds or invite to the college dances Jewish girls from Urbana. He will by this time have encountered aspects of anti-Semitic behavior, but his secure position in an integrated group, the other members of which he knows have encountered the same phenomenon, prevent him from viewing the matter as a peculiarly personal problem. Moreover, he will have participated in various discussions and bull-sessions with his Jewish intimates on the problem of anti-Semitism and thus has a general conception of the group

¹⁰ The growth and maturation of the Jewish girl follows the same general pattern.

definition of the situation and the accepted methods of response. Also, it must be remembered that anti-Semitism has as yet caused him little inconvenience. His major needs have found readily available institutional mechanisms for fulfillment, and even his desire for extragroup response is reasonably well met since his Jewish group has, both in high school and in college, been accorded full recognition and has been allowed to participate in all the activities of the school. Thus, although the definitions handed down to him by his Jewish group do not square precisely with the definitions provided him by the broader Gentile culture (the ideals of equality, democracy, etc.), the difference is not so great that *X* will not be able to make a satisfactory adjustment. Of course, if he encounters severe difficulty in entering a professional school or in securing a job because of the fact that he is a Jew, then he may begin to question the Jewish definitions, but even should he meet with such an experience, he still may be able to make an adjustment by securing work in a Jewish firm or through Jewish connections.

Upon graduation, then, *X* marries a Jewish girl and comes back to take up a business career, or practice a profession, and make his home in Urbana. There he is now recognized as an adult member of the Jewish community and continues to function as a member of the group. He will join the adult section of the Center and contribute to its upkeep. His wife will become a member of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Center and will help in selling tickets for the annual bazaar. If she has any dramatic ability, she may coach the Jewish Community Center Theater Group in putting on a play by Clifford Odets. There will be a Winter formal and a Spring dinner party at Urbana's leading hotel at which all Urbana Jewry, including *X* and his wife, will turn out. All the intimate friends of the young couple will be other Jews of their own age and status. The pattern is now fixed. For the rest of his life, *X*, as he always has been, will be a member of a geographically dispersed, but thoroughly integrated group which is well equipped to take care of his major social needs.

This theoretical case history prepared by the author is believed to be a fairly typical one. Meeting the four requirements suggested earlier, i.e., early indoctrination and habituation as to status, intimate sharing of status with members of primary groups, participation in major institutional activities provided, ordered, and arranged by individuals of like status, and reasonable satisfaction of learned wishes and desires, it indicates the existence of a complete and unitary culture poised between two other cultures, and for that reason described as marginal. For the individual concerned, however, we must remember that it is not marginal but normal. He knows nothing else. It defines his relationship with the older immigrant group and with the wider Gentile culture. Within the confines of his own group, the native-born Jew is completely at home and at ease and it is here that he carries on the major part of his activities.

The sociological significance of the marginal culture, with special reference to the Jew, may be stated as follows. On the one hand, it allows him a normal form of participation in group activities, an opportunity for the expression of his own cultural interests, and, finally, a sense of security which the marginal individual who calls no culture his own ever has. On the other hand, in so far as the Jewish marginal culture produces a "type" individual definitely distinguishable from the members of the dominant Gentile cul-

ture by appearance (not necessarily physiological), mannerisms, and inflection of speech, it is a contributing cause of anti-Semitism. For, in the words of Park, "... race prejudice is a function of visibility. The races of high visibility, to speak in naval parlance, are the natural and inevitable objects of race prejudice."¹¹ This latter point the author believes to be particularly valid in a situation where the "visible" group (in this case the native-born Jews) operates on a competitive rather than on an accomodative basis in the total culture. The problem of the marginal culture, then, as long as its existence is conceived as necessary or desirable, would seem to be one of fulfilling its major goals of providing its members security, adequate facilities for participation in group life, and the opportunity to express their own cultural interests, without at the same time making them in appearance and behavior distinguishable from the members of the dominant culture.

¹¹ R. E. Park, "Behind Our Masks," *Survey Graphic*, May, 1926, 136. Quoted in Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto*, Chicago, 1928.

NOTICE

Please turn to page 102 for an important notice relative to the annual Census of Research.

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Official Reports *and* Proceedings

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Members of the American Sociological Society who attended the recent meetings in Chicago are vividly aware of the important problems that must be faced by our group during 1941. Late in 1940, President MacIver appointed a subcommittee of the Executive Committee to consider services which sociologists may render during the national emergency and channels through which they may function. This committee did an excellent piece of preliminary work. It is now being reorganized to carry forward on a more permanent basis the study and promotion of our participation in national affairs. Closely connected with the first task is the development of a working relationship with the United States Civil Service Commission. Through the efforts of a second committee, we hope that the Federal Government will be induced to make more extensive and more effective use of sociologists, and that our younger members, especially, may find their way in larger numbers into positions for which they are qualified.

A third task is the internal reorganization of our own Society. The classification of members is not on our agenda, but we have other knotty problems to solve. We must somehow overcome the complexity of our program without reducing the variety of offerings or the opportunity for participation. Perhaps by following the recommendations of last year's Committee on Program we can even increase the number of members that takes part in an annual meeting. While the constitutional changes and the revision of bylaws recommended by Dwight Sanderson's committee cannot be made until the next annual meeting, we will go as far as we can in giving effect to the spirit of the committee's report. (See minutes of the last business session.) That is, we shall place divisions and sections on the same plane, except for the few autonomous sections. We have in mind one session of each unit. We hope that some of these section meetings may include the presentation and discussion of several short research papers submitted to the Program Committee (President, Secretary, and Editor of *The Review*) without special invitation. Dinner and luncheon meetings will be omitted as in 1940. The number of general sessions will probably be increased to four.

It will be recalled that in accepting items II, III, and IV of the report of the Committee on Organization (See *The Review* for February, 1940), we are committed to the principle of seating representatives of regional societies on our Executive Committee, and of setting up a small Administrative Committee to function between meetings of the Executive Committee. We are also committed to the principle of electing officers through a vote taken by mail. The Committee on Revision of the Constitution will be glad to receive suggestions from members as to the best way of putting these principles into effect. Meanwhile, the Committee on Nominations will proceed much as in the recent past, inviting suggestions from the members of the Society and presenting at the annual meeting two nominees for each office.

When these problems of internal reorganization have been worked out, we should have a more democratic structure and one better adapted to the purposes of our Society. However, our most important tasks have to do with the national emergency

and the increased participation of sociologists in public affairs. This array of challenging activities calls for the wholehearted support of every member of the Society. It means meeting regular obligations promptly; it means the giving of extra time and thought to our common problems; it means bringing into our membership the maximum number of eligible persons.

STUART A. QUEEN, *President.*

MEMBERSHIP LIST FOR 1941¹

The symbols before the names indicate special classes of members as * life members, † contributing and subscribing members, ‡ honorary members.

The letters after the names indicate the divisions of the Society in which each member is enrolled, as (a) General and Historical Sociology, (b) Social Psychology, (c) Methods of Research, (d) Social Biology, (e) Educational Sociology, (f) Statistical Sociology, (g) Rural Sociology, (h) Community Study, (i) Sociology and Social Work, (j) Teaching of Social Sciences, (k) The Family, (l) Sociology of Religion, (m) Sociology and Psychiatry, (n) Criminology, (o) Political Sociology. Capital letters indicate leading interests.

CHAPTER MEMBERS—REGIONAL GROUPS

- No. 1. University of Utah Sociological Society, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
- No. 2. The Sociology Club of the University of Cincinnati, University of Cincinnati
- No. 3. The Ohio Valley Sociological Society, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
- No. 4. District of Columbia Sociological Society, Washington, D.C.
- No. 5. The Society for Social Research of the University of Chicago
- No. 6. The Southern Sociological Society, Florida State College
- No. 7. The Eastern Sociological Society, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts
- No. 8. The Mid-West Sociological Society, Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin

Abel, Theodore F., Palisades, N.Y., a o
 Abernethy, George L., Univ. of South Dakota, Vermillion, S.D.
 Abram, Robert C., 110 N. Glenwood Ave., Columbia, Mo.
 Abrams, Ray H., 408 S. Lansdowne Ave., Lansdowne, Pa., a b k l m n
 Aginsky, Bernhard W., 8 W. 13th St., New York, N.Y., a b c h j k m
 Akers, Elmer, 1624 Alpha St., Lansing, Mich.
 Alapas, Peter, 305 Barnes St., Wilkinsburg, Pa.
 Albigh, J. W., Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
 Albright, Robert E., State Teachers College, Buffalo, N.Y.
 Alexander, Frank D., 112 Wigington St., Clemson, S.C., g h
 Alinsky, Saul D., 8 South Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., c h n o
 Allport, Floyd H., 485 Buckingham Ave., Syracuse, N. Y., a b c f g k o
 Alpert, Harry, 5514 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.

¹ This list includes 1940 members and new members joining during the early weeks of 1941.

Amann, Dorothy, Librarian, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex.
 Anderson, C. Arnold, Dept. of Sociology, Iowa State College, Ames, Ia., a b G k
 Anderson, Nels, 1734 New York St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
 Anderson, W. A., Dept. of Rural Social Organization, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y.
 Andrews, John B., Amer. Assn. Labor Legislation, 131 East 23rd St., New York, N.Y.
 Angell, Robert C. 1007 Berkshire Rd., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Angyal, Andras, Dr., Worcester State Hospital, Worcester, Mass.
 Arensburg, Conrad M., Room 1-284 M.I.T. Cambridge, Mass., b c g h
 Argow, Walter Webster, 695 Sunset Road, Teaneck, N.J., c e i m n
 *Armstrong, Clairette P., Dom. Relations Ct., 137 22nd St., New York, N.Y., b m n
 *Armstrong, Donald, Colonel Ord. Dept., 309 W. Jackson Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
 Armstrong, Hazel, Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Ind.
 Arnold, Hannah B. Polk, Mrs., 217 Alfred St., Alexandria, Va.

- Aronson, Moses J., P.O. Box 50, Hamilton Grange Sta., New York, N.Y., A b L o
- Arrington, Ruth E., 2526 N. Jefferson St., Arlington, Va., b c F
- Ascham, John Bayne, 909 Plum St., Cincinnati, Ohio
- Atchley, M. H., Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tenn.
- Atwood, J. Howell, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Austin, Anne L., Western Reserve Univ., 2063 Adelbert Rd., Cleveland, O., a b c e g h i j k
- Babcock, James O., 2809 Rittenhouse St., N.W., Washington, D.C., a h
- Baber, Ray E., Pomona College, Claremont, Calif., a b d k
- Bacon, Selden D., New Haven Ave., Ansonia, Conn.
- Bailey, William L., Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- Bain, Read, Miami Univ., Oxford, Ohio
- Baker, O. E., U. S. D. A., Bur. Agri. Eco., Washington, D.C.
- Baldwin, Roger N., 31 Union Sq., W. New York, N.Y.
- Ballard, Lloyd Vernor, 917 Park Ave., Beloit, Wis., a i k l m
- Bane, Lita, 701 Pennsylvania Ave., Urbana, Ill.
- Bankert, Zetta E., 223 East Sixth St., Ames, Iowa, c e g h j
- Banzet, Ernest M., Michigan State College, E. Lansing, Mich., a b j o
- Barker, Gordon H., 1026½ 15th St., Boulder, Colo., A b c d e f g H i N
- Barnes, C. Rankin, Rev., 408 Nutmeg St., San Diego, Calif., i K l
- Barnes, Gerald, Flemington, N.J.
- Barnes, Mary Edna, 641-E., 23 St., Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Barnett, James H., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., a b n
- Barrett, Patricia, Maryville College, St. Louis, Mo.
- Bartlett, Harriet M., 989 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass., b k
- Baur, Edward J., Dillard University, New Orleans, La.
- Beal, Owen F., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah, A c k
- Beard, Belle Boone, Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Va.
- Becker, Howard, Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., A b c k
- Beebe, Gilbert W., 17 W. 96th St., New York, N.Y., b c D f k
- Beebe, Gordon, 7827 S. Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.
- Beeley, Arthur L., University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah
- Beers, Howard W., R.F.D. #3, Lexington, Ky.
- Bell, James W., Northwestern Univ., Evanston, Ill.
- Bellamy, Raymond, Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla.
- †Beller, William C., 18 W. 85th St., New York, N.Y., A b l
- Benedict, Sister M., College of St. Francis, Joliet, Ill.
- †Beneš, Eduard, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Benoit-Smullyan, Emile, Wells College, Aurora-on-Cayuga, N.Y.
- Benson, Oscar Algot, 7352 Calumet Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Bernheimer, Charles S., 98 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y., b c h i
- Bernstein, Adaline, Carnegie Library, 4400 Forbes St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Berry, Brewton, 408 Lathrop Road, Columbia, Mo., a d l o
- Berry, John W., 811 S. Main St., Eureka, Ill., f g h j l
- Best, Harry, Dept. of Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.
- Bettman, Alfred, 1514 First Natl. Bank Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio
- Bickham, Martin Hayes, 429 9th St., Wilmette, Ill.
- Bicknell, Marguerite E., Lemoyne College, Memphis, Tenn., b c i J k
- Bierstedt, Robert, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, N.Y., a
- Biesanz, John B., Winona State Teachers College, Winona, Minn., a f J k o
- Binder, Rudolph M., 157 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.
- Bishop, Dorothy G., Mrs., Mass. Memorial Hosp. 750 Harrison Ave., Boston, Mass.
- Bittner, W. S., 822 Hunter St., Bloomington, Ind., a b H i
- Blackwell, Gordon, Furman University, Greenville, S.C., c g
- Blaine, Emmons, Mrs., 101 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.
- Bloch, Herbert A., St. Lawrence University, Canton, N.Y., g h i j k
- Bloom, Leonard, Dept. of Sociology, Kent University, Kent, Ohio, a b c h i
- Blosingame, Odis Von, 1108 Fairmont St., N.W., Washington, D.C., c G I m

- Blumenthal, Albert B., 520 W. 1st St., Maryville, Mo., A b C h
- Blumer, Herbert, Social Science Bldg., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Blunt, Carlene L., 1133 Michigan Ave., Evanston, Ill., g h I m
- Bodenhafer, Walter B., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Bogardus, Emory S., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif., B c i
- Bolden, Alexander, 285 Edgecombe Ave., Apt. 42, New York, N.Y.
- Bonner, Hubert, 6122 South Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill., A B c m
- Bonser, Howard, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn., b c G h
- Bossard, James H. S., Logan Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Bowden, Gordon T., 131 Morgan Hall, Soldiers Field, Boston, Mass., a B C d g h l
- Bowerman, Charles E., 5304 Kenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill., a C f k
- Bowers, Raymond V., Univ. of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y., a c f h j m
- Bowman, Claude C., Dept. of Sociology, Temple Univ., Philadelphia, Pa., A b e k
- Boyd, Neva L., 1919 W. Cullerton St., Chicago, Ill., b c d h i
- Boyer, Edward S., James Millikin University, Decatur, Ill.
- Boyer, Philips B., 2810 Perkins Road, Baton Rouge, La., a b c f G
- Brandenburg, S. J., Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
- Brearley, Harrington C., Peabody College, Nashville, Tenn., b E j k n
- Brenner, W. Nisson, Pennsylvania Institute of Criminology, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Brewster, James, State Lib., Hartford, Conn.
- Brickner, Rabbi Barnett R., Euclid Ave., Temple, Cleveland, O.
- Bridgman, Ralph P., 131 Westminster Rd., Brooklyn, N.Y., b e h i j K
- Britt, Steuart Henderson, George Washington Univ., Washington, D.C., B k m n o
- Brookover, Wilbur, Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Brooks, L. M., 528 State St., University, La., a G j
- Brophy, Arthur, Rev., St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, N.Y., a i
- Brown, B. Warren, 5641 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Brown, Francis James, New York Univ., Washington Sq., N.Y., N.Y., a b c E h k
- Brown, L. Guy, 281 Forest St., Oberlin, Ohio, b c i n
- Brown, Julia S., Mrs., 50 Trowbridge St., Cambridge, Mass., a b C f h
- Brown, Martin W., 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y., a d f H
- Brown, Walter James, 1006 Wellington St., London, Ont. Canada, a c e g h k l
- Brown, W. O., Dept. of Sociology, Howard University, Washington, D.C.
- Brownlow, Louis, 1313 E. 60th St., Chicago, Ill.
- Brunner, Edmund DeS., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., N.Y., N.Y., c e G h
- Bruno, Frank J., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Brush, Ruth Seaman, 11 Brummer St., Boston, Mass., C h j k
- Bryson, Gladys, Dept. of Sociology, Smith College, Northampton, Mass., a c K
- Bucklin, Harold Stephen, 124 Woodbine St., Providence, R.I., A b c h k n
- Bunzel, J. H., 3025 Liberty Heights, Baltimore, Md., a B c l
- Burdell, Edwin S., Office of the Director, The Cooper Union, N.Y.C., j
- *Burgess, E. W., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., h K n
- Burgess, J. S., 140 Halcock Lane, Wyncote, Pa.
- Burke, W. W., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Burnham, Ernest, R.F.D. No. 7., Kalamazoo, Mich., a e g k
- Burns, Sister Anne, College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn., a b g i j
- Burrow, Trigant, The Lifwynn Foundation, 27 E. 37th St., New York, N.Y., b D m
- Busch, Henry Miller, Cleveland College, Cleveland, Ohio, a b i j k o
- Bushnell, C. J., University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio, a h i j k l o
- Cahn, Zvi, 22 W. 91st St., New York, N.Y.
- Caldwell, Morris G., Wis. Dept. of Public Welfare, Madison, Wis., a b c f g k m n
- Callaghan, Hubert C., Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., a d e i j k n
- Callighan, Margaret, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Conn., i j n o P
- Cantor, Nathaniel F., Mertztown, Pa.
- Cape, T. W., University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.
- Capen, Edward Warren, 80 Sherman St., Hartford, Conn., A g k
- Carlson, Glen E., University of Redlands, Redlands, Calif.

- Carlson, Gustav G., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, a b c f m o
 Carmichael, F. L., 2230 Colorado Blvd., Denver, Colo., c f h
 Carpenter, David B., 416 Woodlawn Ave., Webster Groves, Mo.
 Carpenter, Thomas P., 1086 N. Cherry St., Galesburg, Ill., b e h i j l
 Carr, Lowell J., Hampstead Lane, R.F.D. No. 1, Ann Arbor, Mich., b c i m
 Carter, Hugh, Bennett Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Case, Clarence M., University of Southern California, Los Angeles, Calif., A b e l
 Cattell, J. McKen, Garrison, N.Y.
 Cavan, Jordon, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.
 Cavan, Ruth Shonle, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill.
 Cavanaugh, Frank, Rev., Notre Dame University, Notre Dame, Ind., k
 Celestine, Sister M., College of St. Scholastica, Duluth, Minn.
 Cell, Clark W., 1112 Austin St., Evanston, Ill., a b E h
 Cell, Erma J., 1112 Austin St., Evanston, Ill., a B c E f
 Chakerian, Charles G., Dr., 405 Moheyan Ave., New London, Conn., g h i o
 Chamberlain, Joseph P., Columbia Univ., 510 Kent Hall, New York, N.Y., j l o
 Chamberlain, Lucy J., 40 E. 10th St., Apt. 4 E, New York, N.Y.
 Chambers, M. M., 744 Jackson Pl., Washington, D.C., a c e g h j k o
 Champlin, Mildred W., Mrs., 34 Ford Ave., Oneonta, N.Y., g h i K
 Chao, S. H., Spencer S5., R. D. #5, Ithaca, N.Y., a g i k n
 Chapin, F. Stuart, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b c f
 Chapman, Stanley H., 27 Harrison St., New Haven, Conn.
 Chatterjee, Manmatha Nath, 913 Xenia Ave., Yellow Springs, Ohio
 Child Welfare League of America, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
 Chivers, Walter R., Box 809, Y.M.C.A., 180 W. 135th St., New York, N.Y.
 Christina, Sister M., Marygrove College, Detroit, Mich.
 Chugerman, Samuel, 44 Butler Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y., b e j o
 Churchill, Charles W., 9 Oxford St., Apt. No. 3, Newark, N.J.
 Clare, Tom, 6646 S. Parnell, Chicago, Ill.
 Clark, Carroll D., University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan., a b g j
 Clark, Egbert B., Jr., Santa Rosa Junior College, Santa Rosa, Calif.
 Clark, Lawrence, 169 Sylvan Ave., Leonia, N.J.
 Clark, Robert E., Apt. 4, 1367 E. 57th St., Chicago, Ill.
 Clark, S. Delbert, University of Toronto, Toronto 5, Canada, a b c l o
 Clark, William R., Providence College, Providence, R.I., i K n
 Clarke, Edwin L., Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla., j k
 Clausen, John A., 6108 University Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c n
 Cleland, Wendell, American University at Cairo, Cairo, Egypt
 Clinard, Marshall B., Univ. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, a b c j k N
 Cobb, William C., Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 Park St., Boston, Mass.
 Cobbledick, M. Robert, Connecticut College, New London, Conn., a d f k
 Cohen, Albert, 1716 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa., b h K m n
 Cohen, Albert K., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
 Cohen, Joseph, Dept. of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Wash.
 Cole, Stewart G., 6 Fairwood Road, Madison, N.J.
 Compton, Charles H., Olive, 13th and 14th Sts., St. Louis, Mo.
 Conrad, Laetitia Moon, 1310 Elm St., Grinnell, Iowa
 Conrad, F. A., University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
 Conway, Margaret, Whitman College, Walla Walla, Wash.
 Coogan, John E., Univ. of Detroit, McNichols Rd. at Livernois Ave., Detroit, Mich.
 Cook, Lloyd Allen, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, b c d e g h i j
 Cooper, Charles I., 404 S. 8th St., Minneapolis, Minn.
 Cooper, John M., Caldwell Hall, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C.
 Corita, Sister Mary, St. Joseph College, West Hartford, Conn.
 Cornell, William A., Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn., b k n
 Cottam, Howard R., 315 Agricultural Hall, College of Agriculture, Madison, Wis.
 Cottrell, Leonard S., Jr., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., B C f k

- Counts, George S., Teachers College, Columbia Univ., New York, N.Y.
- Coutu, Walter, University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., B c d f g k m n
- Cowgill, Donald O., Drury College, Springfield, Mo., f h k
- Cox, Oliver Cromwell, Wiley College, Marshall, Texas, b c f h k
- Coyle, Grace L., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
- Cralle, Walter O., 1527 West Drive, Springfield, Mo., b c e k
- Crawford, W. Rex, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Cressey, Paul F., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., a H j k
- Cressey, Paul G., 132 McCosh Rd., Upper Montclair, N.J., b e h i
- Crimi, James E., 901½ W. 35th Place, Los Angeles, Calif., a b E i j l
- Croft, A. E., The Municipal University of Wichita, Wichita, Kan.
- Cronback, Abraham, 842 Lexington Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio, b l
- Cromwell, Mary E., 1815 13th St., N.W. Washington, D.C., b e f i m n
- Crook, Evelyn B., 3820 Osceola Ave., Kingston, Pa.
- Crook, Wilfrid, 3820 Osceola Ave., Kingston, Pa.
- Crooks, Ezra, Newark, Del., a i j k n
- Croxton, Frederick E., Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Cuber, John F., Dept. of Sociology, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio
- Cummings, Milton C., 212 Halley St., Brockport, N.Y., a c h j k
- Cunningham S. C., Care Prentice Hall, 70 5th Ave., New York, N.Y.
- Cutler, J. E., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
- Dai, Bingham, Dept. of Social Science, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., M
- Danhoff, Ralph H., Rm. 3522, South Wing, Dept. of Agri., Washington, D.C.
- Daniel, V. E., Wiley College, Marshall, Tex., a b c e l
- Dann, Robert H., Oregon State College, Corvallis, Ore., a k n
- D'Argonne, Michael C., 5933 Vicksburg St., New Orleans, La., a b c g k n
- Davie, Maurice R., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
- Davies, Stanley P., Rm. 302, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Davis, Alice, Box 728, Chapel Hill, N.C., a i
- Davis, Edward H., 61 Oakland Ave., Waterbury, Conn.
- Davis, Horace B., 309 Lake Ave., Newton Highlands, Mass., K
- Davis, Jean S., Wells College, Aurora, New York, a b c h i j k l m n
- *Davis, Jerome, 489 Ocean Ave., W. Haven, Conn.
- Davis, Kingsley, 720 W. Foster Ave., State College, Pa.
- Davis, Michael M., 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
- Davis, Ralph N., Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., b c e g i j k m
- Dawson, C. A., Arts Building, McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
- Day, George M., 5223 Maywood Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., A e i k l
- Daykin, Sam, Lt., U.S. Disciplinary Barracks, Ft. Leavenworth, Kan.
- Dedrick, Calvert L., Rm. 5810 Commerce Bldg., Washington, D.C., c f h k
- Deets, Lee E., 153 East 27th St., New York, N.Y., a c h i
- DeGraff, Harmon O., University of Akron, Akron, Ohio, b c h i k n
- DeGrange, McQuilkin, 1 Barrymore Rd., Hanover, N.H., a
- Demerath, Nicholas J., Sophia Newcombe College, Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La., a k M n
- Denood, Neal B., Main St., Haydenville, Mass., a i k M
- Denune, Perry P., 1845 Tremont Road, Columbus, Ohio
- De Sylvester, Corrado, 5240 Congress St., Chicago, Ill., b c h k n o
- Detweiler, Frederick G., Denison University, Granville, Ohio, d k
- Deutsch, Albert, 115 East 169th St., New York, N.Y., a c I m
- DeVinney, Leland C., Room 304, Cobb Hall, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Dexter, Lewis, 536 Pleasant St., Belmont, Mass.
- Deitrich, Doris C., care Dr. C. Dietrich, 642 Medical Arts Bldg., Tacoma, Wash.
- Dinkel, Robert M., 515 Anderson St., Greencastle, Ind., B g k
- Ditmars, August, Room 2500, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y.
- Dittmer, C. G., New York University, Washington Sq. E., New York, N.Y.
- Dodd, Stuart C., American University of Beirut, Beirut, Syria, a c f

- Dodson, Dan W., Rm. 41 Press Bldg., New York Univ., New York, N.Y., a b c e k l
- Dollard, John, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., b m
- Dorn, Harold F., R.F.D. #3, Burning Tree Court, Bethesda, Md., c d f
- Douglas, George A., 13 Bellaire Ct., Appleton, Wis., b k m
- Dove, F. D., Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, Virginia, a e m
- Dowd, Jerome, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Okla.
- Dubin, Robert 5618 Drexel Ave., Chicago, Ill., c f m
- DuBois, W. E. Burghardt, Atlanta Univ., Atlanta, Ga., a
- Duncan, Otis Durant, Oklahoma A and M College, Stillwater, Okla.
- Dunham, H. Warren, 701 W. Warren Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Dunlap, Sheldon, 230 Euclid Ave., Syracuse, N.Y.
- †Duprat, G. L., University of Geneva, Geneva, Switzerland
- Dunn, Halbert L., 1734 Eye St., N.W., Washington, D.C., b f i
- Duthie, Mary Eva, 314 Agri. Eco. Bldg., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., b e g i
- Duvall, Everett W., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., b c e I m
- Dybwad, Gunner, N.Y. State Training Sch. for Boys, Warwick, N.Y., c I M N
- Dybwad, Rosemary, N.Y. State T. Sch. for Boys, Warwick, N.Y., c I m N
- Earp, James P., Western Maryland College, Westminster, Md., a b c h J K n
- East Wendell L., 1063 Columbia Ave., Chicago, Ill., a b I m
- Eaves, Lucille, 41 Clark Rd., Brookline, Mass.
- Edwards, Allen D., Virginia Polytechnic Inst., Blacksburg, Va.
- Edwards, Lyford P., Bard College, Annandale on Hudson, N.Y., a l o
- Edward, Sister Mary, Library, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul Minn.
- Egan, Thomas A., Loyola University, 28 N. Franklin St., Chicago, Ill.
- Ehrmann, W. W., 6145 8th St., Gainesville Fla.
- Eldredge, H. Wentworth, 6 Valley Rd. Hanover, N.H., A h
- Eldridge, Seba, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan., a C h O
- *Eliot, Thomas D., Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Ellickson, John C., 6311 Ridgewood Ave., Washington, D.C.
- Ellickson, John C., Mrs. 6311 Ridgewood Ave., Washington, D.C.
- Elliott, Charles N., 5641 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Elliott, Lois, 2362 Auburn Ave., Cincinnati, O.
- Elliott, Mabel A., Department of Sociology, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan.
- Elwood, Charles A., Duke University, Durham, N.C., a b c e j l
- Elmer, M. C., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., a c i k
- Embree, Edwin R., 4901 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill., e G m
- Emens, John A., 555 Shelbourne Ave., Wilkinsburg, Pa., E h i j
- Emig, Arthur Samuel, 207 Edgewood Ave., Columbia, Mo.
- English, M. I., 6559 Glenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Ennis, J. H., Cornell College, Mount Vernon, Iowa, a g h J k O
- Epstein, Lenore, 818 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Esgar, Mildred H., George Williams Col., 53rd and Drexel Blvd., Chicago, Ill.
- Eskell, Bertram C., 147 E. 72 St., New York, N.Y.
- Eskell, Milia Alihan, 147 E. 72 St., New York, N.Y.
- Estorick, Eric E., New York University, New York, N.Y., a b e j m o
- *Eubank, Earle E., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, A c c e i k l
- Fairchild, H. P., New York University, Washington Sq., E., New York, N.Y.
- Fairchild, Mildred, 219 Roberts Rd., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Falley, Eleanor W., Goucher College Library, Baltimore, Md.
- *Faris, Ellsworth, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill.
- Faris, Robert E. Lee, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., A B c f m
- Faris, Clair Guignard, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa., A B c f m
- Fauman, S. Joseph, 1509 Burlingame, Detroit, Mich., a c f
- Feder, Leah, Dept. of Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.
- Federal Council of Churches, Library, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y., c e i l
- Fernandes, Grace, Capitol Office Bldg., Oklahoma City, Okla.

- Feurlicht, Morris M., 35 E. 54th St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Field, Frederick V., 129 E. 52nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Field, Thea G., 2908 Beanna St., Austin, Tex.
- Fink, Arthur E., University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia
- *Fisher, Galen M., Orinda, Calif.
- Fisher, J. Elliott, 130 Morningside Dr., New York, N.Y., b c E i J
- Fisher, Mary S., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., b d e j K M
- Fletcher, Ralph C., 519 Smithfield St., Pittsburgh, Pa., c f h i
- Fligelman, Frieda, 2509 Parker St., Berkeley, Calif., B c o
- Florant, Lyonel C., 5827 Maryland Ave., Chicago, Ill., a b C f h
- Foley, Donald L., 5522 Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Folsom, Joseph K., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., b e h K m
- *Ford, Richard T., Mrs., 1 Douglas Rd., Rochester, N.Y.
- Ford, Robert N., Box 1906, University, Ala., B c f
- Foreman, Paul B., University of Mississippi, University, Miss., a b f N
- Form, William H., Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md., c m n
- Fosberg, Morton F., 559 W. 188 St., New York, N.Y., b C f m
- Fosdick, Dorothy, Laura Scales House, Northampton, Mass.
- Fowler, Charles B., 24 Vermont Ave., White Plains, N.Y.
- Fox, Byron L., Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, a c h
- Fox, Sherwood D., 323 Gregory Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
- Frances, Sister Elizabeth, Regis College, Weston, Mass., i
- Frank, George, 1221 Willard St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Frank, Lawrence K., Josiah Macy Foundation, 565 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.
- Frankel, Edward T., 491 State St., Albany, N.Y., a c f i
- Franzen, Erich, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, a B c L M N o
- Frazier, E. Franklin, Howard University, Washington, D.C., b c i k o
- Frazier, Olen T., State Normal School, New Paltz, N.Y.
- Freeman, Eva Allen, 5324 Willis Ave., Dallas, Texas, a b m N
- Frey, Fred C., Louisiana State University, University, La., d G k
- Friedel, Francis J., Rev., University of Dayton, Dayton, Ohio, k L m
- Friedli, Alfred, 5861 Plymouth Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
- Friedman, Elisha M., 15 Broad St., R. 1308, New York, N.Y.
- Fulcomer, David, Drew University, Madison, N.J., a b E K l m
- Fuller, Richard C., Haven Hall, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Funkhouser, R. L., 1626 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Furfey, Paul Hanly, Catholic University, Brookland, D.C., a b c f
- Gallagher, Ralph A., Loyola University, 6525 Sheridan Rd., Chicago, Ill.
- Galpin, Charles J., Bur. of Agri. Eco., U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
- Galt, William, Lifwynn Foundation, 27 E. 37th St., New York, N.Y., b c d M n
- Gamble, Sidney D., 4730 Fieldson Rd., New York, N.Y.
- Garber, John, Montebello St., Richmond, Va., c h o
- Gardiner, Gertrude R., Apt. 207, 5493 Cornell Ave., Chicago, Ill., a e j o
- Garvey, Helen G., Mrs., Stephens College, Columbus, Mo., K m
- Garwood, L. F., Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa
- Gee, Wilson, University of Virginia, University, Va.
- Gehlke, C. E., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
- Geisert, H. L., Marion, Alabama, a c d f
- †George, Julia, 609 Sutter St., San Francisco, Calif.
- Gertrude, Sister Mary, Immaculata College, Immaculata, Pa., a e g h i j k m n
- Gettys, W. E., University of Texas, Austin, Tex., a b h k
- Gibbard, Harold A., Dept. of Sociology, Brown University, Providence, R.I., c h
- Gibbs, Raymond L., 141-13th St., Columbus, Ohio
- Gibson, Duane L., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., b c f G h k m
- Gilfillan, S. C., 5623 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill., a j k
- Gill, John D., 260 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Gillette, John M., University of North Dakota, Grand Forks, N.D.

- Gillin, J. L., Sterling Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
 Gillin, John P., Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, Conn.
 Gist, Noel P., University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., b c D H o
 Glaser Lydia N., Box 305, Rochester, Minn., e g j
 *Glenn, John M., 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y., b c h i j K l m n
 Glick, Clarence E., Brown University, Providence, R.I., b c H m
 Glick, Paul C., 5050 First St., N.W., Washington, D.C., a b c d f i k
 Goethe, C. M., 7th and J Sts., Sacramento, Calif.
 Goldberg, Ruth Jean, 1115 W. Nevada St., Urbana, Ill., b c h i k m n
 Gomillion, Charles G., Box 31, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.
 Good, Alvin, State Normal School, Natchitoches, La., E g K l
 Goodwin, Frank, Washington College, Chestertown, Md.
 Grafton, Thomas Hancock, Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Va., A l n
 Graves, Clifford L., 2228 E. 74th St., Cleveland, Ohio, b i j M N
 Green, Howard W., 1001 Huron Rd., Cleveland, Ohio, c f h
 Greenhoe, Florence, Apt. 3, 1579 N.W. Blvd., Columbus, Ohio, e h
 Gregory, Edward Wadsworth, Box 725, University, Ala., A c h k n
 Greth, Morris S., Albright College, Reading, Pa., a g i k n
 Grove, Elsa Butler, 531 W. 122nd St., New York, N.Y., e g I j k m
 Groves, Ernest R., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
 Gruener, Jennette R., 65 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass., c f I k
 Guckert, E. S., 51 W. Warren St., Detroit, Mich., h i
 Guthrie, Elton F., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., a j
 Haagen, C. Hess, 115 East Hall, State U. of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, b k M n
 Haak, Leo A., University of Tulsa, Tulsa, Okla.
 Hadley, Ernest Elvin, 1835 Eye St., N.W., Suite 621, Washington, D.C.
 Hagood, Margaret Jarman, Village Apts., Chapel Hill, N.C., c d f g
 †Halbwachs, Maurice, The Sorbonne, Paris, France
 Hall, Oswald, Brown University, Providence, R.I., b f k
 Hallenbeck, Wilbur C., 520 W. 122nd St., New York, N.Y., c e h l
 Halpin, John Thomas, Rev., 2496 Marion Ave., New York, N.Y.
 Hamilton, C. Horace, 1535 Iredell Dr., Raleigh, N.C.
 Hankins, Frank H., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
 Hansen, Asael T., Dept. of Sociology, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, b h k
 Hardin, Clara A., Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pa., a c g H i k
 Haring, Douglas G., 117 Euclid Ter. Syracuse, New York, c f
 Harlan, William Harrell, 5422 Blackstone, Chicago, Ill., b h
 Harmsworth, Harry C., 522 W. 30th St., Los Angeles, Calif., a K
 Harper, E. B., Box 93, E. Lansing, Mich., b c h i j k m n
 Harris, Frank, Elmira College, Elmira, N.Y.
 Harris, Thomas L., West Virginia University, Morgantown, W.Va.
 †Harrison, Shelby M., Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
 Hart, C. W. M., Univ. of Toronto, 273 Bloor St., West, Toronto 5, Canada, a K l M
 Hart, Clyde W., State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, a b c m o
 Hart, Hornell, Duke Univ., Durham, N.C.
 Hartshorne, Edward Y., 3 Phillips Pl., Cambridge, Mass., a e h k o
 Hatch, D. Spencer, c/o Dwight Sanderson, 305 Fairmont Ave., Ithaca, N.Y.
 Hauser, Philip M., Bureau of the Census, Washington, D.C.
 Hay, Donald G., Div. of Farm Pop. and Rural Welfare, 614 Terminal Bldg., Lincoln, Neb.
 Hayes, C. Walker, 173 Hillsdale St., Hillsdale, Mich., B k n o
 Hayes, Wayland J., Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn., a e i
 Hayner, Norman S., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., K N
 Haynes, George Edmund, 297 Fourth Ave., New York, N.Y., B d g i m
 Heberle, Rudolf, Louisiana State University, University, La.
 Heidingsfield, Myron S., Hotel Macy, 720 West End Ave., New York, N.Y., a b F i j n
 Heinmiller, W. H., 154 N. Columbia St., Naperville, Ill., g h j k

- Helleberg, Victor E., 1725 Mississippi Ave., Lawrence, Kan.
- Henderson, Benton M., 3327 M St. S.E., Washington, D.C., B i m
- Henderson, David, 5148 Blair St., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Hendricks, Carolina M., Mrs., 180 West 1st N. Street, Logan, Utah
- Henry, Edward A., Library, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio
- Henry, Sister Mary, Rosary College, River Forest, Ill.
- Henssler, Friedrich W., 140 Prospect Ave., Elmhurst, Ill., A f k n o
- Herman, Abbott P., Hillsdale College, Hillsdale, Mich.
- Hertzler, Joyce O., Social Science Hall, Univ. of Neb., Lincoln, Neb., a c h o
- Hicks, Frederick James, 2811 Perrysville Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Hicks, William Norwood, State College Station, Raleigh, N.C., a j k L
- Higgins, H. Ralph, St. Mark's Church, Grand Rapids, Mich., b K l m n
- Hightower, Raymond L., 107 Monroe St., Kalamazoo, Mich.
- Hilger, Sister M. Inez, Alexander Hospital, Bismarck, N.D., g j m
- Hill, George W., College of Agri., Univ. of Wis., Madison, Wis., a c f g h
- Hill, Randall C., State Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kan., A C G h i k
- Hill, Reuben L., 601 S. Orchard St., Madison, Wis., B c e g i k n
- Hill, Walter B., Library, Univ. of Florida, Gainesville, Fla.
- Hiller, E. T., 328 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill.
- Hillman, Arthur, 6115 Kimbark Ave., Jackson Park Sta., Chicago, Ill., a b h i
- Himes, Norman Edwin, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y.
- Hirsh, Joseph, 2419 Seminary View Dr., Arlington, Va., d l j
- Hockhouser, Edward, 71 W. 47th St., New York, N.Y.
- Hodge, Clarence Lewis, Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md., i h j o
- Hoffer, C. R., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., g h k o
- Hoffer, Frank W., University of Virginia, University, Va., c h i k
- Hoffman, Charles W., 25 Oliver Rd., Wyoming, Ohio
- Hoffsommer, Harold, Dept. Rural Sociology, Louisiana State Univ., University, La.
- Holben, Ralph P., Dept. of Sociology, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., i N
- Holbrook, David H., Rm. 1201, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
- Hollingshead, August B., Indiana Univ., Bloomington, Ind., a b h o
- Hollingshead, George G., 47 Afterglow Way, Montclair, N.J.
- Holmes, Roy H., 706 Monroe St., Ann Arbor, Mich., a G h
- Holt, John B., Room 306, 249 Peachtree St., Atlanta, Ga., a g h l
- Homans, George C., Kirkland House, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass., A l m
- Homer, Joseph A., 134 S. Fairmont St., Pittsburgh, Pa., c l k n
- Honigsheim, Paul, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., A c L
- Hopkins, Louis J., 1385 Hillcrest Ave., Pasadena, Calif., o
- Hopton, Frederick, Jr., 4734 Butler St., Pittsburgh, Pa., l n
- Horak, Jacob, 58 Ohio Ave., Tiffin, Ohio
- Horkheimer, Max, Int. Inst. of Soc. Res., 429 W., 117th St., New York, N.Y., A k o
- Hornik, Edgar C., 226 Colorado Ave., Highland Park, Mich., c f H
- Horton, James A., Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio
- House, Floyd N., Rugby Apts., University Branch P.O., Charlottesville, Va., A b c i l o
- Howard, Claxton, 1632 Sheridan Rd., Evanston, Ill., A b k o
- Howard, J. A., Upland, Ind.
- Howell, Charles E., 619 N. 12th St., DeKalb, Ill., e f g h
- Huffman, Arthur Vincent, 314 Lincoln Hall, Urbana, Ill., B i k M
- Hughes, Everett C., 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill., a b m o
- Hughes, Helen Gregory MacGill, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill., a b m o
- Hukill, Ralph L., c/o W. J. Higby, Hoyt, Kan.
- Hulett, J. E., Jr., 611 W. Nevada, Urbana, Ill., a B k
- Hulseman, Bertha F., 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Humphries, Jessie H., P.O. Box 745 T.S. C.W. Sta., Denton, Tex., a c i j
- Hunsinger, Gilbert, 444 W. 122nd St., New York, N.Y., F k m N
- Hunt, Thomas C., 46 Park Pl., Princeton, N.J., b c f k l m
- Huntington, Albert H., Natl. Youth Admin., Washington, D.C., c f g k

- Hurlin, Ralph G., Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Hursh, E. M., 145 West Home, Westerville, Ohio, A b G H I j K l m n
- Hussey, Helen, 311 B The Olbiston, Utica, N.Y., c g l
- Hutchinson, Edward P., 2032 Belmont Rd., Washington, D.C., d f
- Hutt, Robert B. W., Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.
- Hyde, Roy E., 605 N. Magnolia St., Hammond, La., a b d G j k
- Hypes, J. L., Storrs, Conn., b e g i j k
- Infeld, Heinrich, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
- Inglis, Ruth A., 312 Professional Bldg., Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif.
- Ingram, Louis W., 1511 Burbank Rd., Wooster, Ohio, a b h O
- Innes, John Warwick, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., a c d f n
- *Irving, Bertha A., 102 Henderson Ave., New Brighton, S.I., N.Y.
- Jacobi, John E., 49 Clark St., Pleasantville, N.Y., c h k N
- Jacobs, Herman, Jewish Com. Cen. Woodward at Holbrook, Detroit, Mich., e h i k
- Jameson, Samuel Haig, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., b c j m
- Janes, Robert W., 911 W. High St., Urbana, Ill., b f i
- Jeddeloh, Henry J., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, a c E f n
- Jenkins, F. Raymond, Hampton Institute, Richmond, Ind.
- Jenks, Leland H., 18 Weston Rd., Wellesley, Mass., A h o
- Jennings, Helen H., 405 W. 118th St., New York, N.Y., b m
- Jensen, Howard E., Duke Station, Durham, N.C.
- Jocher, Katharine, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Johansen, Sigurd, New Mexico State College, State College, N.M.
- Johns, R. Elizabeth, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio, i j k m n
- Johnson, Charles S., 1611 Harding St., Nashville, Tenn.
- Johnson, Guy B., Box 652, Chapel Hill, N.C., b c h
- Johnson, Joseph K., Div. of Social Sci. E. Tex. Teachers College, Commerce, Tex.
- Johnson, Mary A., Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md., b e i k m n
- Johnson, Rex M., Lake Erie College, Painesville, Ohio, a b d e k m n o
- Johnston, A. A., 419 Pearl St., Wooster, Ohio, i k n
- Jones, Alfred W., 124 E. 84th St., New York, N.Y., b c f H j o
- Jones, Arthur H., 23 W. Walnut La., Germantown, Pa., a H j m
- Jones, Harold E., 2683 Shasta Rd., Berkeley, Calif.
- Jones, Lester M., DePauw University, Greencastle, Ind.
- Jordan, Millard L., Fenn College, Cleveland, Ohio, H i j K N
- Joslyn, Carl S., 102 Shepherd St., Hyattsville, Md., a i
- Julian, Anna Johnson, 152 S. 14th Ave., Maywood, Ill., c e h i k m n
- Justiss, Valerie, 1262 Columbia Rd., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Kahn, Edward M., 318 Capitol Ave., S.E., Atlanta, Ga., b H I k o
- Kammer, Edward J., 3901 Harewood Rd., N.E., Washington, D.C., a h K l
- Kaplan, Oscar, 2006 Kelton Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., B c d f k m o
- Karcher, E. Kenneth, Jr., 14 Fairlawn Ave., Albany, N.Y., a b c d f h i m n
- Karpf, Fay B., 467 Central Park West, New York, N.Y., a B C h I j m
- Karpf, M. J., Graduate School, 1776 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
- Kast, Ludwig, 565 Park Ave., New York, N.Y.
- Kastler, Norman M., 207 Union Ext. Bldg., Madison, Wis., a g h l
- Kaufman, Edmund C., Bethel College, North Newton, Kan., k l
- Keller, Philip Edward, 3400 H. St., Apt. 2, Sacramento, Calif., c f m n
- Kelsey, Carl, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Kennedy, Raymond, Graduate School, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., a
- Kepner, Charles D., Jr., 5059 Broadway Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, A b i k l n
- Kercher, Leonard Clayton, Western State T. College, Kalamazoo, Mich., a b h j
- Ketcham, Dorothy, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich., i
- Ketchum, John Davidson, 181 Rosedale Heights Dr., Toronto. Ont., Canada, a B c h k m

- Keyes, Fenton, Colgate University, Hamilton, N.Y., A h j
- Kilburn, H. Parley, Box 171, Ephraim, Utah
- Kimmel, William G., 668 W. Louthier St., Carlisle, Pa.
- Kincheloe, Samuel C., 5757 University Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c h k L
- King, Judson, 23 Columbia Ave., Takoma Park, Md.
- King, Morton B., Jr., University of Mississippi, University, Miss.
- Kingsbury, Susan M., 219 Roberts Rd., Bryn Mawr, Pa.
- Kinneman, John A., Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Ill., e i j k
- Kirk, Dudley, 100 Jefferson Rd., Princeton, N.J., a d f g j o
- Kirk, William, Pomona College, Claremont, Calif., a B D n
- Kirkpatrick, Clifford, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b c f K l m
- Kirkpatrick, E. L., Amer. Youth Com., 744 Jackson Pl., Washington, D.C., c f G k
- Kiser, Clyde V., Milbank Memorial Fund, 40 Wall St., New York, N.Y., c f
- Kleihege, George W., 439 N. 2nd St., Linsborg, Kan.
- Klein, Annette, 1835 Center Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa., b i j k m
- Klein, Philip, N.Y., School of Social Work, 122 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Klineberg, Otto, Columbia University, New York, N.Y., B d m n
- Kloepfer, Herman J., Knoxville College, Knoxville, Tenn., A g i j
- Kluckhohn, Florence, Peabody Museum, Cambridge, Mass., c g H k
- Knoebber, Sister Mildred, Mount St. Scholastica College, Atchison, Kan.
- Knox, John B., Alabama College, Montevallo, Ala., a b c k p
- Koenig, Samuel, 236 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn., A b h l
- Koeninger, Rupert C., Central State Teachers College, Mt. Pleasant, Mich.
- Kolb, J. H., College of Agriculture, Univ. of Wis., Madison, W.s., g h k
- Komarovsky, Mirra, 35 West 90 St., New York, N.Y., a b c k
- Koshuk, Ruth P., 5524 Ellis Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c f i k
- Kouzian, Ardemis, 40 Goldengate, Detroit, Mich., c f i
- Kovacs, Sander B., Baylor University, Waco, Texas, a i K n
- Kraenzel, Carl F., 1108 W. Babcock St., Bozeman, Mont., a c G h k
- Krall, Dorothy, 15 Dwight St., New Haven, Conn., a b c f g H i k m n
- Krassovsky, Collierche, 901 W. Franklin Ave., Richmond, Va., c e h i j
- Kratz, Althea H., Bennett Hall, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa., i k n o
- Kraus, Hertha, 233 Roberts Road, Bryn Mawr, Pa., c h i j
- Kraus, Siegfried, 80 Van Cortlandt St., New York, N.Y., A I K O
- Kress, Andrew J., 4427 5th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., A b g i k m
- Krueger, E. T., Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn., b k m
- Kujawski, Carl J., 414 W. 120 St., Apt. 205, New York, N.Y., a b C f h i l m
- Kurtz, Russel H., Russell Sage Foundation, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- *Kusama, Shiko, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Tokyo, Japan
- Kutak, Robert I., Dept. of Sociology, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky.
- Laing, James T., Dept. of Sociology, Kent University, Kent, Ohio, b d h n
- Lake, James H., 520 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill., c g h I k o
- Lam, Margaret Mildred, 1439 Keeaumoku St., Honolulu, T.H., B c k m
- Lamson, Herbert D., 77 Bennoch St., Orono, Me., d h i k n
- Landecker, Werner S., 315 Haven Hall, U. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich., a b c l n O
- Landheer, Bartholomew, 4707 Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C., A b c j l o
- Landis, Paul H., Dept. of Rural Sociology, Wash. State College, Pullman, Wash.
- Landman, J. H., 110 Seaman Ave., New York, N.Y., a b c d m n o
- Landman, Sol, 8315 Lefferts Blvd., Kew Gardens, L.I., N.Y., b e k l
- Lane, Harold E., 20 Fletcher St., Winchester, Mass., f i j k m N
- Lang, Richard O., 2601 Calvert St., Washington, D.C., c D F k
- Lantis, L. O., State Teachers College, Minot, N.D.
- Lanzer, Irving A., 83 Park Terrace West, New York, N.Y., b c i j k M n o
- LaPiere, Richard T., Dept. of Economics, Stanford University, Calif., a B j m
- Larson, Olaf F., Bureau of Agricultural Econ., Washington, D.C., F
- Lasker, Bruno, 64 Shelley Ave., Yonkers, N.Y.
- Latimore, Eleanor L., Pultneyville, Wayne County, N.Y.

- Lawrence, Charles B., Jr., 470 W. 24th St., New York, N.Y., b C f
- Lazarsfeld, Paul Felix, 15 Amsterdam Ave., New York, N.Y.
- Lee, Alfred M., N.Y.U., Washington Square, New York, N.Y., B c j k n
- Lee, Elizabeth B., 388 Flax Hill Rd., S. Norwalk, Conn.
- Leen, William J., 45 Prospect Place, Tudor City, N.Y.
- Lehman, W. C. Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., a c g h j
- Leiffer, Murray H., Garrett Biblical Inst., Evanston, Ill., B h k l
- Lejins, Peter, Elizabethesiela 87 DZ 5 Riga, Latvia
- Leland, Waldo Gifford, 907 15th St., Washington, D.C.
- Lerner, Eugene, 830 Bronx River Road, Bronxville, N.Y.
- Lewis, W. P., State College Library, State College, Pa.
- Leyburn, James G., 1406 Yale Sta., New Haven, Conn., a
- Lichtenberger, J. P., 71st St. at Greenhill Rd., Philadelphia, Pa., a k
- Lies, Eugene T., 2531 Creswell St., Shreveport, La.
- Ligouri, Sister Mary, B. V. M., 1033 Newton St., N.E., Washington, D.C.
- Lind, Andrew W., University of Hawaii, Honolulu, T.H.
- Lindesmith, Alfred R., 417 S. Henderson, Bloomington, Ind., b
- *Lindsay, Samuel M., Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Lindsey, Edward, National Bank Bldg., Warren, Pa., a b
- Lindstrom, David E., University of Illinois, New Agri. Bldg., Urbana, Ill., c G
- Lingel, Robert, c/o N.Y. Public Library, 5th Ave. and 42nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Lister, Joseph J., 1726 Conn. Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C., c g h j
- Little, Maude Clay, Meredith College, Raleigh, N.C., a b K l n
- Lively, Charles E., Rural Sociology, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., c f g k
- Lively, E. L., State Normal School, Fairmont, W.Va., a c d g i j k l n
- Llewellyn, Karl, Mrs., 128 Boulder Trail, Bronxville, N.Y.
- Lobb, John, Box 24, South Hadley, Mass., A k n
- Locke, Harvey J., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.
- *Loeber, Maud, New Medical Bldg., New Orleans, La.
- Loescher, Frank S., Randolph-Macon Woman's College, Lynchburg, Va., A e j o
- *Lofsteadt, Christine, 1021 Concha St., Altadena, Calif.
- Lohman, Joseph D., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., a b c f i n
- London, Jack, 3246 W. Lemoyne Ave., Div. (51), Chicago, Ill., a B c f m
- Londow, Ezekiel Jacob, 220 5th Ave., New York, N.Y., e h i o
- Long, Virgil E., University of Chattanooga, Chattanooga, Tenn.
- Loomis, Dr. and Mrs. Charles P., Bur. of Agri. Econ., U.S. D.A., Washington, D.C., G h k
- Lorimer, Frank, American University, 1901 F. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Loring, William C. Jr., A. & M. College, Stillwater, Okla., a c j o
- Lottier, Stuart, Psychopathic Clinic, Recorder's Court, Detroit, Mich.
- Lowrie, S. H., 151 College Dr., Bowling Green, Ohio
- Ludlow, Wm. L., 30 E. Main St., New Concord, Ohio
- Lumley, F. E., Commerce Bldg., Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
- Lumpkin, Katherine D., 54 Prospect St., Northampton, Mass., c h o
- *Lundberg, George A., Bennington College, Bennington, Vt., b c f
- Lunden, W. A., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., e j l n
- Lurie, Harry L., 11th Floor, 165 W. 46th St., New York, N.Y.
- Lynd, Robert S., Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Lyons, James A. Dr., P.O. Box 10, Ottawa, Kansas, a g k
- MacIver, Robert Morrison, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Macrory, Boyd E., Asbury College, Wilmore, Ky., h k n
- Magnusson, Leifur, 3223 Northampton St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Maller, Julius B., 2000 F St., N.W., Washington, D.C., b C e N
- Malone, Tennessee, West Texas State Teachers College, Canyon, Tex.
- Mamchur, Stephen Wm., College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minn., a b c d f g h i j k l m n o

- Maneval, Raymond K., U. of Penn. Center, Webster Bldg., Altoona, Pa., a b f j k
- Mangus, A. R., 2718 Kent Rd., Columbus, Ohio
- Manheim, Ernest, Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo., a c h k o
- Mann, Albert Z., Int. Y.M.C.A. College, Springfield, Mass.
- Mann, Fritz K., 15 W. Kirke St., Chevy Chase, Md., A o
- Mansfield, A. Elizabeth, 34th and Chestnut St., Philadelphia, Pa., a b e h i m o
- Margold, Charles W. Dr., 401 D. N.E. Washington, D.C., b c d f o
- Mark, Mary Louise, Sch. of Social Admn., Ohio State U., Columbus, Ohio, C f h i j
- Marks, Mary E., Librarian, University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyo.
- Marsh, Donald, 665 W. Hancock, Detroit, Mich., A B m
- Marsh, Margaret, 11 Hillcrest Pl., Amherst, Mass., o
- Marsh, May R., Mrs., 103 Overlook Ter., Leonia, N.J.
- Marshall, L. C., 7007 Rolling Rd., Chevy Chase, D.C.
- Martin, Robert Ray, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minn., k
- Marx, Walter J., Catholic University, Washington, D.C., a g O
- Mather, William G., Jr., 949 E. Jefferson St., Franklin, Ind., g k
- Maudlin, W. Parker, University of Tenn., Knoxville, Tenn., b F g m
- †Mauß, Marcel, The Sorbonne, Paris, France
- MaWhinney, William T., General Motors Institute, Flint, Mich., a B e
- May, Geoffrey, 1243 30th St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Mayer, Carl, 66 W. 12th St., New York, N.Y., a l
- Mayer, Joseph, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., A c f
- Mayfield Violet, 2125 Beverley Glen Blvd., W. Los Angeles, Calif.
- Mayo, George Elton, 48 Brattle St., Cambridge, Mass., b c d i m
- McAleer, James Alfred, 3311 North Ave., Richmond, Va., g k o
- McBride, Anna Christine, Carnegie Inst. of Tech., Pittsburgh, Pa., a c f g h i j k n
- McCamman, Dorothy, F., 1610-16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., c f g i
- McCanliss, Lee, 31 Nassau St., New York, N.Y.
- McConnell, John W., Univ. Heights, New York University, New York, N.Y., a h O
- McCormick, Thomas C., Dept. of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis.
- McCrae, Helen, 1460 Baldwin Ave., Detroit, Mich., b c f l m n
- McDougale, Ivan E., 1219 Roundhill Rd., Baltimore, Md., b K n
- McGee, Mildred K. Mrs., Box 36, Hudson, Ill., b i M n
- McGee, N. W., 417 N. Elm St., Greenville, Ill., b e j o
- McKay, Evelyn C., Amer. Fdn. for Blind, 15 W. 16th St., New York, N.Y.
- McKay, Henry D., 7241 Jeffery Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- McKinney, Leta Lee, 111 Homewood Rd., Brentwood, Los Angeles, Calif.
- McMillan, Robert T., 312 Jefferson St., Stillwater, Okla.
- McMinn, Gerald W., St. Bonaventure College, St. Bonaventure, N.Y., i K
- McQuade, Vincent A., Villanova Col., Monastery, Villanova, Pa., a f H k o
- McWilliams, R. H., 2025 S. Fillmore St., Denver, Colo., a b c f K N
- Mekeel, H. Scudder, P.O. Box 1727, Santa Fe, N.M., b g h k M
- Melvin, Bruce L., R.F.D. #5, Anacostia, D.C.
- Menefee, Selden C., WPA Div. of Res., 1734 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Merrill, Francis E., Dartmouth College, Hanover, N.H., i k n o
- Merton, Robert K., Tulane Univ., New Orleans, La., a b c l m o
- Metcalf, Wayne D., P.O. Box 117, Racine, Wisconsin, c g h i k n
- Metour, Gildas E., Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind.
- Metzger, Charles Robert, 5504 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood, Calif.
- Metzler, Wm. H., University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark., A b g m
- Meyer, Henry J. Jr., State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash., a C h
- Miles, Arthur P., 2135 Broadway, New Orleans, La., c f i
- Miller, Delbert, State Col. of Wash., Pullman, Wash.
- Miller, H. A., 140 Heacock Lane, Wyncote, Pa.
- Miller, Harlan H., 21 E. Welling Ave., Pennington, N.J., a b H o
- Miller, Henry, 660 E. 242nd St., Bronx, New York, N.Y., A b i k m o

- Mitrany, David, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N.J.
- Mokre, Johann, 7611 Delmar Blvd., St. Louis, Mo., a b e g i l
- Monachesi, Elio D., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Monahan, Thomas P., 5625-11th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Monsees, Carl H., 5015 V Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Montgomery, Edward W., Route 1, Box 3, Gibsonia, Pa.
- Mooney, George S., Montreal Indus. & Eco. Bur., 806 Dominion Sq. Bldg., Montreal, Canada
- Moore, Coyle E., State College for Women, Tallahassee, Fla., a c g K
- Moore, E. H., 205 Oregon Bldg., Eugene, Ore., b d n
- Moore, Elizabeth Proehl, 112 Warwick Rd., West Newton, Mass., b c f i k m
- Moore, Felix E., 1922 Fifth Ave., W. Seattle, Wash.
- Moore, Harry E., Dept. of Sociology, University of Texas, Austin, Tex.
- Moore, Underhill, 127 Wall St., New Haven, Conn., c f o
- Moreno, J. L., Beacon Hill Sanitarium, Beacon, N.Y.
- Morgan, John W., Fowler Apts., Milledgeville, Ga.
- Morris, Albert, 176 Hillcrest Rd., Needham, Mass., a c k n
- Morris, True, 650 12th Ave., E., Eugene, Ore.
- Morrow, Curtis H., 3 W. Court, Waterville, Me., a d i k
- Mounts, Lewis H., Ballard Normal School, Macon, Georgia, c h J k
- Mowrer, Ernest R., 727 Monticello Pl., Evanston, Ill., b c f k n
- Mowrer, Harriet R., 727 Monticello Pl., Evanston, Ill., b c k m
- Mudd, Emily H., Mrs., 253 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa., b c i K m
- Mueller, Franz, 2143 St. Clair St., St. Paul, Minn., a c j l o
- Mueller, John H., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., a c f
- Mueller, Theophil W., Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Ill.
- Muller, Henry M., Haines Ave., Berlin, N.J., d j K
- Mulvaney, Bernard C., 1004½ S. 6th St., Champaign, Ill., j k o
- Mumford, Eben, 710 Maple St., East Lansing, Mich., a b c e g h j
- Munce, R. J., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Mundie, Paul J., Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis., a b m
- Muntz, Earl E., Gap View Rd., Short Hills, N.J., a H n o
- Murdock, George, 960 Ridge Rd., Hamden, Conn., A b
- Muriel, Sister M., Briar Cliff College, Sioux City, Iowa
- Myhrman, Anders M., Bates College, Lewiston, Me., a h i j
- Navin, Robert B., Rev., Sisters College, 1027 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
- Neal, Ernest E., Texas College, Tyler, Texas, b C e i j k
- Nearing, Scott, P.O. Box 516, Ridgewood, N.J., a
- Neely, Wayne C., Hood College, Frederick, Md., a b g k
- Nelson, Lowry, Minnesota Agricultural Experiment St., St. Paul, Minn., g
- Neprash, Jerry Alvin, 914 Virginia Ave., Lancaster, Pa., a b C f n o
- Neumann, Sigmund, Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., a h o
- Neumeyer, M. H., 3551 University Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., A g h i k
- Newcomb, Charles Shelton, 1240 N. Shore Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c F i
- New Jersey College for Women, Librarian, New Brunswick, N.J.
- *Newell, Jane I., 139 W. Highland Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Newman, S. Clayton, University of Louisville, Louisville, Ky., a e J o
- Nijhoff, N. V. Martinus, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague, Holland
- Nimkoff, M. F., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., a b c d h i j K m
- Nissen, Carl A., 2215 N. 4th St., Columbus, Ohio
- Noonan, Carroll J. Rev., St. Mary's Seminary, Paca St., Baltimore, Md.
- North, Cecil C., Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
- Noss, Theodore K., Purdue Univ., La Fayette, Ind., a b c e f g h i j k l m n o
- Notestein, Frank, 47 Hawthorne Ave., Princeton, N.J., d f
- Nottingham, Elizabeth K., Wheaton College, Norton, Mass., A f i l m
- Nuquist, Joseph E., 1718 Chadbourne Ave., Madison, Wis.
- Nystrom, Paul H., School of Business, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.

- Oberdorfer, Douglas W., Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, a B c d f k m
- O'Connell, John C., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, Mass.
- Odum, Howard, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Ogburn, William F., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- O'Grady, John, 1317 F. St., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- O'Hare, Richard J., Catholic Univ., Washington, D.C., h i j k
- Oklahoma, University of, Librarian, Norman, Okla.
- Oman, William M., Oxford University Press, 114 5th Ave., New York, N.Y.
- †Oppenheimer, Franz, Nassauische Strasse 9-10, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, Germany
- Orr, Edward B., Principia College, Elsah, Ill., a i k L
- Ovenburg, Dorothy C., 4462 St. Paul Blvd., Rochester, N.Y., b l m
- Owen, Floyd, Broadway Hill, Ann Arbor, Mich., a B h m o
- Owen, Mary Bess, Logansport State Hospital, Logansport, Ind., b c m
- Oyler, Merton D., Agricultural Experimental Station, Lexington, Ky.
- Page, Charles Hunt, 242 W. 109th St., New York, N.Y., a c j o
- Panunzio, Constantine, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., a d k m
- Parenton, Vernon J., 221 Center Agri. Bldg., University, La., a b c d g h k o
- Park, Robert E., Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
- Parker, Frederick B., Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa., a o
- Parmelee, Maurice, 1024 Transportation Bldg., Washington, D.C.
- Parsons, Talcott, 62 Fairmont St., Belmont, Mass., a c j k l m
- Parten, Mildred, 1214 St. Mathews Ct., N.W., Washington, D.C.
- Passamaneck, Herman, Care Y. M. and Y. W. H. A., 315 S. Bellefield Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Paton, Bernice E., Box 126, Birmingham, Mich., e o
- Paula, Sister Mary, College of St. Elizabeth, Convent, N.J., A e f k
- *Payne, E. George, New York Univ., Washington Sq., E., New York, N.Y.
- Pedersen, Laura M., 133 Pearl St., Little Rock, Ark., e i k n
- Peeling, James H., Butler University, Indianapolis, Ind., a c g i j o
- Percival, Mary Elizabeth, 2332 S. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa., d i k M n
- Person, Philip H., 623 W. State St., Milwaukee, Wis., a i j k n
- Peskind, A., 12629 Euclid Ave., East Cleveland, Ohio
- Peters, Charles C., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa., b c E f
- Pettit, Walter W., 122 East 22nd St., New York, N.Y., h i
- Phelan, John, 419 College Ave., Northfield, Minn.
- *Phelps, Harold A., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., a b c f k n o
- Philips, Henry, 2 S. 13th St., Darby, Pa., l m
- Piest, Oskar, 250 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y.
- Pigors, Paul, 92 Washington Ave., Cambridge, Mass.
- Philblad, C. Terrence, Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., a d n
- Pinkham, Louisa, 27 Ripley Ter., Newton Centre, Mass., a b c j m n o
- Piotrowski, Sylvester A., Rev., Mount Mary College, Milwaukee, Wis., a e i j l
- Plumley, Margaret Lovell, 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y.
- Polson, Robert A., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., c f G h j
- Potter, Allen R., R.F.D. 14 Ward's Lake, Olympia, Wash.
- Potter, Ellen C., 301 W. State St., Trenton, N.J., I k m n
- Powdermaker, Hortense, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y.
- Powers, Dorothy E., 1120 East 24th Pl., Tulsa, Okla.
- Powers, Edwin, 12 Hardy Ave., Watertown, Mass., b c i N
- Prescott, Daniel A., School of Educ., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., b c e m
- Price, Maurice T., Lincoln Hall, Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., a b c f g o
- Pritchett, Henry L., Southern Methodist University, Box 503, Dallas, Texas
- Puckett, Newbell N., Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio, a b c f g j k l
- Queen, Stuart A., Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., c i k
- *Quijano, J. Rivero, Box 1542, Mexico City, Mexico
- Quinn, James A., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio

- Rademaker, Mr. and Mrs. J. A., 427 Main St., Lewistown, Me., A b c d f g h J k o
- Radomski, Alexander, 134 Seymour Rd., Rochester, N.Y., H k n
- Ramsey, Duane B., 302 Locust Lane, State College, Pa.
- Ramsperger, H. G., 400 Allaire Ave., Leonia, N.J.
- Ranck, Samuel H., Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
- Randolph E. F., 993 Memorial Dr., Cambridge, Mass.
- Rapport, Victor A., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
- Rasmussen, Donald E., 330 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill., n
- Ratcliffe, S. C., Illinois Wesleyan University, Bloomington, Ill.
- Raymond, Franklin Hough, Jr., 926 Franklin St., Richmond, Va., b e g I j k
- Record, Mason, Univ. of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.
- Reed, Ellery F., The Community Chest, 312 W. 9th St., Cincinnati, Ohio
- Reed, J. Paul, 325 Viscaya Ave., Coral Gables, Fla., b C f H i k
- Reed, Stephen, W., 312 Linsly Hall, Yale University, New Haven, Conn., a
- Reeves, Ruby Jo, Box 3814, T. S. C. U. Station, Denton, Texas
- Reid, Ira De. A., Atlanta University, Atlanta, Ga.
- Reinhardt, James M., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb., a b m n
- Reitman, Ben, 6826 South Bishop St., Chicago, Ill.
- Rennekar, Lucille M., Hood College, Frederick, Md., a H j
- Repke, Arthur, 338 Hawthorne, Glen Ellyn, Ill.
- Reuss, Marguerite, Marquette University, Milwaukee, Wis.
- Reuter, E. B., Dept. of Sociology, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa
- Reynolds, Joseph Weston, P.O. Box 125, White Salmon, Wash., c d e G H I K L M N O
- Rice, Stuart A., 2863 Beechwood Circle, Arlington, Va.
- Riecken, Henry W., Jr., University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., b c h
- Riley, John W. Jr., N.J. College for Women, New Brunswick, N.J., A c
- Robert, Percy A., Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., k o
- Roberts, Harry W., Virginia State College, Ettrick, Va.
- Roberts, Ralph, W., Dept. of Rural Sociology, University, La.
- Robinson, Ormsbee, 442 W. 238th St., New York, N.Y.
- Robinson, William S., 423 W. 120th St., New York, N.Y., B c f g
- Rockwood, Lemo Dennis, Home Economics, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y., b c k
- Roethlisberger, F. J., Harvard Gr. Sch. of Bus. Admin., Soldiers Field, Boston, Mass.
- Rogers, A. A., Box 1041 University Station, Charlottesville, Va., a b c e g
- Rogers, D. B., Dept. of Sociology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Roper, M. Wesley, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia, Kan., b c e H
- Rosario, Jose C., University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, e h K
- Rose, Arnold M., 5510 S. Sanagamon St., Chicago, Ill., A b c f
- Rosenquist, Carl M., Dept. of Sociology, Austin, Tex., B c f n
- Rosenthal, William H., Mrs., c/o Child Guidance Home, 3149 Harvey Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio
- Ross, Edward A., University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wis., a
- Ross, Eva J., Trinity College, Washington, D.C., A c g k l n o
- *Rossouw, G. S. H., P.O. Box 2160, Durban, Natal, Union of South Africa
- Roucek, Joseph S., Hofstra College, Hempstead, N.Y., a b e h j n o
- Rowland, Howard, Room 14, Page Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
- Roy, Katharine, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kan., b c k
- Rubin, Arthur L. H., Div. of the Social Sciences, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Rumney, Jay, 165 Vase Ave., South Orange, N.J.
- Rush, Charles E., Public Library, 325 Superior Ave., N.E., Cleveland, Ohio
- Ryskamp, Henry J., 1201 Sherman St., S.E., Grand Rapids, Mich., a k l
- Saathoff, John A., College Hill, Jamestown, N.D.
- Salomon, Albert, 3212 Cambridge Ave., New York, N.Y., a l o
- Salter, Alice B., 1712 Grand, Cedar Rapids, Iowa, a B i
- Sanders, Irwin T., 350 Woodland Ave., Lexington, Ky., a g j
- Sanderson, Dwight, 212 Overlook Rd., Ithaca, N.Y., a c g k

- Sanford, Gilbert A., 332 Maynard St., Ann Arbor, Mich.
- Saposnekow, Jacob, West Va. Univ., Morgantown, W.Va., a b c d f h i j m n o
- Sarvis, G. W., 146 Lincoln, Delaware, Ohio
- Satchwell, Wayne, 515 Liberty St., The Dalles, Ore., f i o
- Saul, Herbert W., 18 Talbot Rd., S. Braintree, Mass., b k M
- Sayler, Edward, Talladega College, Talladega, Ala., a b c g H i j k l
- Scates, Douglas E., College Sta., Durham, N.C.
- Schacht, Lucie H. Mrs., 6714 S. Union Ave., Chicago, Ill., k
- Schaper, Florence W., Lindenwood College, St. Charles, Mo., A b c E f j
- Schafer, Marvin R., College of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Wash.
- Schaffner, Mary, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio
- Scherer, M. Elizabeth, Russell Sage College, Troy, N.Y.
- Schersten, Albert Ferdinand, 1000 38th St., Rock Island, Ill., a g h i k l n o
- Schettler, Clarence H., Western Reserve Univ., Cleveland, Ohio, a B c f k m
- Schmid, Calvin F., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., C d h o
- Schneider, David M., 44 Van Schoick Ave., Albany, N.Y., a c f h I
- Schneider, Joseph, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Schorsch, A. P., De Paul University, Rm. 302, 64 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill., c k l
- Schroeder, Clarence W., Bradley Hall, Peoria, Ill., a b c j K n
- Schuessler, Karl, 301 Central Ave., Highland Park, Ill., c f n
- Schuler, Edgar A., Louisiana State University, University, La., b
- Schumacher, Henry C., 2525 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
- Schwieb, Vernon R., 2030 North 32nd St., Lincoln, Neb.
- Schwitalla, Alphonse M., 1402 S. Grand Blvd., St. Louis, Mo.
- Sears, Charles H., 35 Edgecliff Ter., Yonkers, N.Y.
- Seelig, Harold D., Mrs., 36 Cobane Ter., West Orange, N.J., c f i K N o
- Selekman, Ben M., 24 Province St., Boston, Mass.
- Sell, Harry B., 5711 Blackstone Ave., Jackson Park Sta., Chicago, Ill., a b c e n O
- Selle, Erwin S., 323 W. Broadway, Winona, Minn., E j o
- Sellow, Gladys, 2119 10th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., i
- Sellin, Thorsten, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa., a b c f N
- Selling, Lowell S., 16196 Cherrylawn Ave., Detroit, Mich.
- Senior, Clarence, Liberal Arts Bldg., Univ. of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.
- Setterlund, Elmer Leonard, 501 Emery St., Longmont, Colo., b c i k l m
- Sevina, Sister, Alverno Teachers Coll., 1413 S. Layton Blvd., Milwaukee, Wis.
- Sewell, William H., Okla. A. and M. College, Stillwater, Okla., a b C f G n
- Sewny, V. D., 390 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y., A b m o
- Shaloo, J. P., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Shannon, May G., care W.P.A., Federa, Bldg., Fort Worth, Texas, a g h
- †Shaw, G. Howland, Department of State, Washington, D.C., c i m N o
- Sheffield, Ada E., Mrs., 31 Madison St., Cambridge, Mass.
- Sheldon, Henry D. Jr., Dept. of Sociology, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y.
- Shideler, Ernest H., 829 N. Main St., West Lafayette, Ind., b c g h j k n
- Sholes, Russell C., Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vt., a b g i k n
- Shryock, Henry S. Jr., 2812 23rd St., Arlington, Va., c d F
- Sibley, Elbridge, Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Me., a c f o
- Sidlo, Thomas L., 1956 Union Trust Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
- Simmons, Leo W., Institute of Human Relations, New Haven, Conn., b k m
- Simms, B. F., 228 La Fayette St., Roanoke, Ala.
- Simpson, George., 189-18A 35th Ave., Flushing, N.Y.
- Simpson, George E., Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa., a c l
- Sims, Newell L., Oberlin, Ohio, a g h j o
- Slawson, John, 228 E., 19th St., New York, N.Y.
- Sletto, Raymond F., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b c F h n
- Smith, Chris, 129 Farmington Ave., Waterbury, Conn., a b c h
- Smith, Eleanor, Alderson, W.Va., a B i n
- Smith, Luke M., 15 Walker St., Cambridge, Mass., a d g o
- Smith, Mapheus, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan., B C d f g n

- Smith, Raymond C., 502 Kentucky Ave., Alexandria, Va., G
- Smith, Richard R., 120 E., 39th St., New York, N.Y.
- Smith, T. Lynn, Louisiana State University, University, La., a c d G k
- Smith, William C., Linfield College, McMinnville, Ore., a b c g k l
- Snyder, Harry R., 330 W. 42nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Solby, Bruno, M. D., 133 E. 158th St., New York, N.Y., b k m o
- Sorokin, P. A., 8 Cliff St., Winchester, Mass.
- Speier, Hans, 66 W. 12th St., New York, N.Y., a o
- Spiegel, David K., 390 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y., B e h m
- Spirer, Jess, Western State Penitentiary, Pittsburgh, Pa., b c f m n
- Stacy, W. H., Ames, Iowa
- Stafford, Thomas Albert, 731 Simpson St., Evanston, Ill., f l o
- Standing, Theodore G., 643 Donaghey Bldg., Little Rock, Ark., A c g k
- Steele, Mary R., Main St., Wilbraham, Mass., c g h
- Steiner, Jesse F., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., d g H i
- Steinmetz, Richard C., 400 W. Madison St., Chicago, Ill.
- †Steinmetz, S. R., University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Holland
- Stephan, A. Stephen, Stout Institute, Menomonie, Wis., e h i k
- Stephen, Frederick F., McGraw Bldg., Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y.
- Stern, Bernhard J., Dept. of Social Science, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Stetler, Henry G., 1925 N. Park Ave., Philadelphia, Pa., c f o
- Stevens, Raymond B., 320 Irvine Pl., Elmira, N.Y., b f J k n
- Stone, Olive M., 901 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
- Stone, W. B., Commerce, Tex., a b e
- Stonequist, Everett V., Skidmore Col. Saratoga Springs, N.Y., a B c d j k m o
- Stouffer, George A. W. Jr., 610 Philadelphia Ave., Chambersburg, Pa., B e i n
- Stouffer, Samuel A., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Straley, J. C., Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kan.
- Strauss, Anselm L., 5140 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Streightoff, Frances D., 733 E. 33rd St., Indianapolis, Ind.
- Strode, Josephine, Thurston Court Apts., Ithaca, N.Y.
- Strong, George W., University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Sullenger, T. Earl, Municipal University of Omaha, Omaha, Neb.
- Sutherland, E. H., Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind., n
- Sutherland, Robert L., Univ. of Texas, Austin, Tex., h i n
- Swanson, C. G., 150 Meeker St., Bowling Green, Ohio, b E g h l m
- Sweeney, L. J., 1010 Webster Ave., Chicago, Ill., h i k l
- Sweetser, Frank L. Jr., 118 S. Bryon St., Bloomington, Ind., a c f g H n
- †Swift, Harold H., Union Stock Yards, Chicago, Ill.
- Symon, Stow E., 6533 Kimbark Ave., Chicago, Ill.
- Symons, Joseph N., Utah State Agricultural College, Logan, Utah, a b g i k N
- Syz, Hans C., Lifwynn Foundation, 27 E. 37th St., New York, N.Y.
- Taeuber, Conrad, 201 Jackson Ave., Hyattsville, Md., c f g
- Taeuber, Irene Barnes, Sch. of Public Affairs, Princeton Univ., Princeton, N.J.
- Taft, Donald R., 1001 Douglas Ave., Urbana, Ill.
- Talbert, Ernest L., University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio, b l o
- Tang, Kuang Wu, 701 E. Washington St., Phoenix, Ariz., a b m
- Tannous, Afif I., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
- Tate, Leland B., Box 51, Blacksburg, Va., a c G h j
- Taylor, Burton W., 39 Harpswell St., Brunswick, Me., A b H i k
- Taylor, Carl B., Division of Social Sciences, Hobart College, Geneva, N.Y., e g i k N
- Taylor, Carl C., 3712 Fulton St., N.W., Washington, D.C., b g h
- Taylor, E. A., 19 N. Shannon Ave., Athens, Ohio, A g h
- Taylor, Eleanor K., Pennsylvania College for Women, Pittsburgh, Pa., b H k
- Taylor, John Edward, 168 Prospect Pl., Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Teggart, Frederick J., Wheeler Hall, University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- Tetreau, E. D., Experiment Station Staff, University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz.
- Thaden, John F., Michigan State College, East Lansing, Mich., a e g h

- Thomas, Dorothy S., Giannini Hall, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
- Thomas, W. I., Giannini Hall, Univ. of Calif., Berkeley, Calif.
- Thompson, Warren S., Miami University, Oxford, Ohio
- Thomson, Henry E., 6533 17 Ave., N.E., Seattle, Wash., a b O
- Thomson, Mehran K., 11 S. Summit St., Ypsilanti, Mich., a b c k n
- Tibbitts, Clark, Rackham Bldg., Univ. of Mich., Ann Arbor, Mich., c f
- Timasheff, N. S., 3091 Decatur Ave., Bronx, New York, N.Y., b N o
- Timmons, Benjamin Finley, 314 Lincoln Hall Univ. of Ill., Urbana Ill., a c h I K o
- *Toda, Teizo, Dept. of Sociology, Imperial University of Tokyo, Tokyo, Japan
- *Todd, A. J., Harris Hall, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.
- Tomars, Adolph S., 200 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y., a c h j o
- Topping, C. W., University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada
- Torok, John, 211 S. Dithridge Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa., a b c l m o
- Treudley, Mary Bosworth, Horton House, Wellesley, Mass., d i m
- Trout, Paul J., 721 Kimbal Ave., New Kensington, Pa.
- Trueblood, E. J., Limestone College, Gaffney, S.C. g h i k l m n
- Truxal, Andrew, G., Lebanon St., Hanover, N.H.
- Tufts, Edith M., 3114 Iowa St., Pittsburgh, Pa., c i j m
- Twomey, David W., 300 Newbury St., Boston, Mass., a k
- *Tylor, W. Russell, 407 S. New St., Champaign, Ill., a c f g H j
- Ulman, Joseph N., Judge, Court House, Baltimore, Md.
- Upson, Lent D., Dept. of Sociology, Wayne University, Detroit, Mich.
- Vaile, Gertrude, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b G h I k l m
- Vance, Rupert B., Box 495, Chapel Hill, N.C., a D f g o
- Van Der Slice, Austin, 205 Commerce Bldg., Univ. of Ark., Fayetteville, Ark., A c i o
- Van de Wall, Clara L., Amer. Assn. for Adult Ed., 60 E. 42nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Van de Wall, Willem, Amer. Assn. for Adult Ed., 60 E. 42nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Van Diest, Alice E., 1730 N. Cascade St., Colorado Springs, Colo., i k l m.
- †Van Kleeck, Mary, 130 E. 22nd St., New York, N.Y.
- Van Vechten, Courtlandt C., Wayne Univ., Detroit, Mich.
- Van Vleck, Joseph, Jr., 34 Mohawk Dr., Hartford, Conn.
- Vincent, George E., Greenwich, Conn.
- Vold, George B., University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn., b f N
- Von Schmid, J. J., 109 Zoeterwoudsche Singel, Leiden, Holland, A b C O
- Von Tungeln, George H., Iowa State College, Ames, Iowa, a c g h i k
- †Von Wiese, Leopold, University of Cologne, Cologne, Germany
- Voss J. Ellis, 6225 Morton St., Philadelphia, Pa.
- Vreeland, Francis M., 606 E. Anderson St., Greencastle, Ind., a b h i
- Wakeley, Ray E., 507 Lynn Ave., Ames, Iowa
- Walker, Gladys R., 221 N. Homewood Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.
- Walker, Marguerite, 357 S. Kenmore Ave., Los Angeles, Calif., a c i j M
- Waller, Willard, Barnard College, Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
- Wallin, Paul, 319 W. 88th St., New York, N.Y., a b c k m
- Walsh, Mary Elizabeth, Catholic Univ. of America, Washington, D.C., i k l m n
- *Wang, Tsi Chang, Room 615, 51 Canton Rd., Shanghai, China
- Waples, Douglas, 5800 Blackstone Ave., Chicago, Ill., b c
- Warner, Florence M., Connecticut College, New London, Conn., g i j
- Waris, Heikki, Dr., Brahenkatu 4, Helsinki, Finland, a c i k
- Warner, Wellman J., Dr., Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pa., A c l o
- Warner, W. Lloyd, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.
- Waterman, Willoughby C., Brooklyn College, Bedford Ave., Brooklyn, N.Y.
- Watkins, Mark Hanna, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., a B
- Watson, Amey E., 773 College Ave., Haverford, Pa., c e f i j k m n
- Watson, Frank D., 773 College Ave., Haverford, Pa., c e f i j k m n
- Watson, Goodwin, 525 W. 120 Street, New York, N.Y., b o
- Watson, Maud E., Apt. 402, 2240 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit, Mich.

- Watson, Walter Thompson, Southern Methodist Univ., Dalla, Tex., B c h i o
 Watts, Fred G., 217 W. Midland, Shawnee, Okla., b f g h i j K l m n
 Weaver, W. Wallace, Logan Hall, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa., c f I j m
 Weaver, W. W., Mrs., Logan Hall, Univ. of Penn., Philadelphia, Pa., c f I j m
 *Weber, Harry F., State Teachers College, Lock Haven, Pa.
 Webster, Donald E., Beloit College, Beloit, Wis., a b o
 Weeks, H. Ashley, 305 Oak St., Pullman, Wash., c f N
 *Webster, Hutton, R.F.D. 2, Box 326-A, Menlo Park, Calif.
 Weiler, Theodore C., 51 Washington St., Middlebury, Vt., A d i
 Weinfeld, William, 716 S.E. 13th Ave., Minneapolis, Minn., c F O
 Wiessman, Irving, 613 Locust St., St. Louis, Mo., c f h i
 Weitzman, L. G., John Carroll University, University Heights, Cleveland, Ohio
 Weller, Forrest L., Elizabethtown, Pa.
 Wells, Carl D., 4923 15th St., N., Arlington, Va.
 Wesley, Oscar, Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, Pa., a b e i k
 Wessell, Bessie Bloom, Mrs., Connecticut College, New London, Conn.
 Wetzell, Harold E., Ohio State Univ., Columbus, O., c h i n
 Wheeler, Joseph L., Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, Md.
 *Whelchel, James O., 1382 S. Denver St., Tulsa, Okla., a
 Whelpton, P. K., Scripps Foundation, Oxford, O., c f k
 Whetten, Nathan L., Storrs Agricultural Exp. Station, Storrs, Conn., c d G k
 White, Eva Whiting, Mrs., 264 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
 White, R. Clyde, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., c f i n
 Whitehouse, Herbert, 3800 A Humphrey St., St. Louis, Mo., a j m
 Whitney, Vincent Heath, 42 Stevens S., Univ. of Maine, Orono, Me., f g h i
 Whyte, William F., 6102 S. Dorchester Ave., Chicago, Ill., b H n o
 Wildes, Harry Emerson, Valley Forge, Pa.
 Willey, Malcolm M., 202 Admn. Bldg., Univ. of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn.
 Williams, B. O., University of Georgia, Athens, Ga., a b c f G j k m
 Williams, Byard, 140 E. 54th St., New York, N.Y., i j
 Williams, Hermon P., Etna, N.Y., I
 Williams, Richard Hays, University of Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y., A g l m o
 Wills, Elbert Vaughan, Treas. Dept., Federal Warehouse, Rm. 376, Washington, D.C., a b E j
 Wilson, Logan, Dept. of Sociology, University of Maryland, College Park, Md.
 Winch, Robert F., 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago, Ill., a b c f K n
 Windsor, P. L., Library, University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
 Winston, Ellen, 120 Forest Rd., Raleigh, N.C., a c D f k m
 Winston, Sanford, 120 Forest Rd., Raleigh, N.C., a c D f k m
 Wirth, Louis, Social Science Bldg., University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill., a c h i j m
 Wittchell, Samuel E., State Teachers College, Glassboro, N.J., a E h
 Woll, Milton, 420 E. 86th St., New York, N.Y., e g h o p
 Wolters, Gilbert, Abbey Library, St. Benedicts College, Atchison, Kans.
 Wood, Arthur Evans, 3 Harvard Pl., Ann Arbor, Mich.
 Wood, Arthur L., 26 Evadene Place, Buffalo, N.Y.
 Wood, L. Foster, Rm. 41, 297 4th Ave., New York, N.Y., i k l
 Wood, Jane H., Mrs., 1218 Spring St., Madison, Wis., C f h
 Wood, Margaret M., Russell Sage College, Troy, N.Y.
 Wood, William G., 1538 Fourth St., Charleston, Ill.
 Woodard, James W., Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa., a B c m
 Woodbury, Robert M., Care International Labor Office, McGill University, Montreal, Canada
 Woodhouse, Chase Going, Mrs., 751 Williams St., New London, Conn., C f k o
 Woods, Erville B., Hanover, N.H., a h j
 Woodward, Comer M., Emory University, Ga., a g h i k l
 Woodward, Julian L., 105 McGraw Hall, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, N.Y., D j k n
 Woodworth, A. H., 6220 Greenwood Ave., Chicago, Ill., a b o
 Woofter, T. J., Jr., 2001 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C., c f g i
 Woolston, Howard B., University of Washington, Seattle, Wash., B c f
 Wooten, Mattie L., Mrs., Box 3685, T.S. C.U. Station, Denton, Tex., a f g h i k
 Wormer, Grace, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

- Wright, Verne, University of Pittsburgh,
Pittsburgh, Pa., A b e o
- Wyatt, Donald W., 25 N. 40th St., Philadel-
phia, Pa.
- Yacos, Julia Elaine, 935 Caldwell Ave.,
Portage, Pa., a c e H i j m
- Yarbrough, Dean S., Wilberforce University,
Wilberforce, Ohio, C g H i n
- Yeager, Kennett W., 3510 Iowa St., Pitts-
burgh, Pa., a b c e f g h k l n o
- Yentis, David, 427 Roosevelt Ave., Syra-
cuse, N.Y., b F h
- Yoder, Fred R., State College of Washing-
ton, Pullman, Wash., a b G O
- Yoder, Paul, Belleville, Pa.
- Young, Benjamin F., 62 Belvidere Pl.,
Yonkers, N.Y.
- Young, Donald R., Logan Hall, University
of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
- Young, Erle F., 1627 Wellington Rd., Los
Angeles, Calif.
- Young, Hobart N., Food Research Inst.,
Stanford Univ., Calif., a b c
- Young, Pauline V., 1627 Wellington Rd.,
Los Angeles, Calif.
- Young, Kimball, Queens College, Flushing,
N.Y.
- Younge, Eva R., Soc. Res. Offices 3466, Mc-
Gill University, Montreal, Canada
- Yourman, Julius, 110-31 73rd Rd., Forest
Hill, L.I., N.Y., E g k
- Zeleny, Leslie D., State Teachers College,
St. Cloud, Minn., a E h k n
- Zimmerman, Carle C., Harvard Univ.,
Cambridge, Mass., a b c g H k
- Znaniecki, Florian, University of Illinois,
Urbana, Ill.

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY—MINUTES AND ANNUAL REPORTS

FIRST BUSINESS MEETING, DECEMBER 27, 1940

The first business meeting of the Society was called to order at 9:10 A.M. in the Florentine Room of the Congress Hotel, Chicago, President MacIver presiding. Minutes of the last business and Executive Committee meetings were approved as printed in the *Review*, Vol. V, pp. 91-92.

Upon the motion by F. S. Chapin, seconded by E. H. Sutherland, the Society approved the establishment of the Clearing-House Committee on Personnel.

The appointment of the Sub-Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency was approved by the Society upon a motion by E. A. Ross, seconded by F. S. Chapin.

President MacIver announced the appointment of the following members of the Committee on Resolutions: E. A. Ross, Chairman, W. A. Anderson, E. E. Eubank, C. E. Gehlke, Floyd House. The Society approved the appointment of this committee.

The report of the Society's delegates to the Social Science Research Council was presented by E. W. Burgess.

J. H. S. Bossard summarized the activities of the American Council of Learned Societies.

The report of the Society's representative to the American Library Association, E. L. Talbert, was read by Thomas D. Eliot.

Alfred Lee, Chairman of the Committee on Public Relations, reported on the activities of this committee during the year and the work involved in press relations in conjunction with our annual meetings.

Louis Wirth reported on the plans of the Committee on Local Arrangements.

The meeting adjourned at 10:00 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

SECOND BUSINESS MEETING, DECEMBER 28, 1940

The second business meeting of the Society was called to order in the Florentine Room at 9:05 A.M. by Vice-President Queen.

The minutes of the first business meeting were read and approved.

The minutes of the first meeting of the executive committee were read and approved.

Mr. Woodward presented the report of the Membership Committee which was approved by the Society.

The secretary read the report of the Committee on Social Research; this report was approved.

Mr. Hoffer read the following report of the Committee on Nominations:

For President:

Stuart Queen

Jesse Steiner

For First Vice-President:

J. H. S. Bossard

E. T. Krueger

For Second Vice-President:

Howard Becker

Maurice Davie

For the Executive Committee:

Herbert Blumer

Willard Waller

E. Franklin Frazier

R. T. LaPiere

For the Editorial Board:

L. S. Cottrell, Jr.

Mabel Elliott

P. H. Landis

Robert Merton

The report of this committee was approved.

A motion was made and seconded that nominations for the Editorial Board and the Executive Committee should be submitted in pairs. The motion failed.

A motion was made that in the election of candidates to the Editorial Board and Executive Committee no ballot should be considered valid unless two candidates are voted for in both groups. This motion was accepted.

The chairman ruled with the Society's approval that additional candidates should be named before 6:00 P.M. Saturday.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that the Report on Incorporation, together with the recommendation of the Executive Committee, should be approved.

J. H. S. Bossard presented the report of the Committee on Organization, and the Society voted to receive the report.

E. E. Eubank read the report of the Committee on Honorary Members. The Society approved this report and elected Dr. Eduard Beneš to the honorary membership.

The meeting adjourned at 9:55 A.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

THIRD BUSINESS MEETING, DECEMBER 29, 1940

The third business meeting of the Society was called to order in the Florentine Room at 11:55 A.M., President MacIver presiding.

The minutes of the second business meeting were read and approved.

The minutes of the second meeting of the Executive Committee were read and approved.

E. W. Burgess was appointed for a term of three years to the Social Science Research Council.

Stuart Rice was appointed to the Research Planning Committee for a term of three years.

J. H. S. Bossard was appointed a delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies for a term of four years.

The Society approved the election of Harold A. Phelps as Secretary-Treasurer.

The chair appointed the following members to distribute ballots: Messrs. Ford, Bowerman, Hillman, and John, and the following tellers: Messrs. Jamison (chief teller), Quinn, Sewell, Hollingshead, Schuler, and Jones.

The following officers were elected:

President: Stuart A. Queen

First Vice-President: James H. S. Bossard

Second Vice-President: Howard Becker

Executive Committee: Herbert Blumer, E. Franklin Frazier

Editorial Board: Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Mabel A. Elliott

J. K. Folsom reported for the Sub-Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency. The Society approved the following recommendations of this Committee:

First: That a communication be sent to the United States Civil Service Commission to the following effect:

Whereas there is a national professional organization called the American Sociological Society; whereas sociology is a recognized discipline in the colleges and universities of the country; and whereas it is recognized as a major category by the National Roster of Scientific and Specialized Personnel, we suggest that "sociologist," with appropriate sub-headings or options

be made a general examination category among the examinations given by the Civil Service Commission; this would be particularly serviceable at the present time in enabling officers to secure men needed in investigation, research activities, and also open a simpler channel for sociologists to enter the regular agencies of the federal government.

Second: That the American Sociological Society should establish a regular standing committee of the society to work in liaison with the Civil Service Commission, in order to facilitate the solution of problems arising out of classification and the needs for sociological work in the government service.

Third: That a Committee on the Emergency be appointed to deal continuously with the matters now being considered by this sub-committee of the Executive Committee.

J. H. S. Bossard summarized the report of the Committee on Organization, and recommended the appointment of a Committee to Revise the Constitution provided that the recommended sections are approved.

It was moved and seconded that section 1 of this report be laid on the table. This motion was passed.

It was moved and seconded that section 2 of the report be approved. This motion was passed.

It was moved and seconded that section 3 of the report be approved. This motion was passed.

It was moved and seconded that section 4 of the report should be approved. A substitute motion to add nominations as well as elections to this section failed to pass. The original motion was passed.

It was moved and seconded that the Committee on Organization be discharged and that a Committee on Revision of the Constitution of five members be established and should be appointed by the incoming president. This motion was approved.

Mr. Bossard recommended that the refund to the Pacific Sociological Society be made as approved by the Executive Committee (experimentally for a period of one year). This motion was seconded and approved.

Willard Waller presented the report of the Clearing-House Committee on Personnel. This report was approved by the Society. Mr. Waller moved that the Committee be discharged and that it be merged with the Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency. Motion was seconded and passed.

Dwight Sanderson recommended that the report of the Committee on Program be received and referred to the Committee on the Revision of the Constitution. This recommendation was approved by the Society.

E. A. Ross presented the following resolutions:

REPORT OF THE RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

1. Resolved, that the Society herewith expresses its grateful appreciation of the efficient and friendly services of the local committee on arrangements.
2. Resolved, that the Society thanks the Congress Hotel for its loyal and efficient co-operation in making the annual meeting a success.
3. Resolved, that the Society expresses its sincere appreciation for the faithful work of the committees on public relations, personnel, progress, membership, and organization.
4. Resolved, that the Society thanks the University of Chicago for its hospitable invitation to members of the Society to participate in an informal smoker celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the University.
5. Resolved, that since a large and varied array of materials useful for sociological research and teaching has been made available by a number of departments and agencies of our Federal Government, we hereby express our appreciation of these contributions to the tasks in which we are engaged.
6. Resolved, that the Society takes this occasion, when freedom of assemblage and of speech

have ceased to exist in large areas of the world, to reaffirm our belief in, and appreciation of, these fundamental privileges which as a Society and as individuals we enjoy in most of our colleges and communities.

7. Resolved, that the Society anticipates marked benefits to sociology in America from the refugee European scholars coming to us and trusts that its members will show them due appreciation and hospitality.
8. Resolved, that the Society, remembering this year of 1940 as the centennial anniversary of the birth of William Graham Sumner, take this occasion to express its esteem for him, as an eminent pioneer among American sociologists, and for his part in the establishment of this Society, of which he was the second president.
9. Resolved, that since the Society has lost by death during the year 1940 one of its honorary members, Professor Celestin Bouglé, L'École Normale Supérieure, and the following active members; Robert E. Chaddock, August F. Fehlandt, Alexander Goldenweiser, Max S. Handman, J. C. Harper (life member), Charles T. Lorum, Roderick Duncan McKenzie, and Ulysses G. Weatherly; we express our regret and honor their memory by rising and preserving one minute of silence.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was approved.

The meeting was adjourned at 1:35 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

FIRST MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 27, 1940

The first meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 5:00 P.M. in the English-Walnut Room of the Congress Hotel by President MacIver. Members present were: Messrs. MacIver, Faris, Bossard, Hankins, Queen, Chapin, Nelson, Sutherland, D. Young, and Fairchild.

Minutes of the previous meeting were approved as printed in Volume V of the *Review*, p. 92.

The two following matters of business were approved, namely, the delegation of Talcott Parsons and Anders Myhrman as the Society's representatives to the Summer meetings of the A.A.A.S. at the University of New Hampshire, June 23 to 27, 1941; and an appropriation of \$200 from 1940 income to the Sub-Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency.

The report of the secretary was read and approved.

The report of the managing editor was read and approved.

The report of the treasurer and the Auditor's report for the first six months of the past fiscal year were received and placed on file. It was moved, seconded and passed that the auditor's report should be published hereafter in the October *Review*.

Mr. Sanders presented a preliminary budget for 1941. In view of the several requests for increases in appropriations, the motion was made and passed that the President appoint a committee to consult with the Budget Committee. The President appointed E. H. Sutherland, Donald Young, and Dwight Sanderson to this committee.

The report of the Committee on Honorary Members was presented by E. E. Eubank, recommending to honorary membership in the Society Dr. Eduard Beneš. This report was approved.

The report of the Committee on Organization was presented by J. H. S. Bossard. The motion was made, seconded, and passed that Sections 2, 3, and 4 be recommended to the Society but that no recommendation should be made concerning Section 1.

The report of the Committee on Incorporation was read by the secretary and it was voted that the recommendation of this report, namely, that the Society should

become an incorporated society, be approved. Should the Society approve this recommendation, the Committee voted to authorize the in-coming President to appoint a committee to undertake the details of incorporation.

An invitation of the American Council on Education to the Society to become an affiliate of the Council was declined with thanks.

A resolution prepared by Maurice Parmelee relative to the relationship of this Society with the International Institute was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

In view of the pressure of business it was voted to convene the next meeting of the Executive Committee one hour earlier than the present schedule, namely at 4:00 P.M. in Room 1102.

The meeting adjourned at 6:35 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

SECOND MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 28, 1940

The second meeting of the Executive Committee was called to order at 4:00 P.M. in Room 1102 of the Congress Hotel, President MacIver presiding. The following members were present: Messrs. MacIver, Faris, Folsom, Queen, Fairchild, Chapin, Sutherland, Hankins, Bossard, and Donald Young.

The committee recommended the following representatives and delegates: to the Social Science Research Council for a term of three years—E. W. Burgess; to the Research Planning Committee for a term of three years—Stuart Rice; to the American Council of Learned Societies for a term of four years—J. H. S. Bossard.

The suggestion was approved that the appointment of the Society's delegates to the American Association for the Advancement of Science and to the American Library Association be left to the incoming President with the recommendation, in the case of the former, that a person should be selected who can attend the annual meetings of the A.A.A.S.

It was decided that no appointment should be made to the International Federation of Sociological Societies and Institutes for the current year.

Harold A. Phelps was elected Secretary-Treasurer of the Society.

H. P. Fairchild read a communication from R. E. Baber relative to the desirability of an occasional far Western meeting of the Society.

J. K. Folsom summarized the report of the Sub-Committee on Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency Program. It was moved and seconded that the first, second, and fourth recommendations of this report be approved. This motion was passed.

The motion was made and passed that the Executive Committee express its appreciation to the Committee for its valuable work in drafting this report.

Irwin Sanders presented the budget for 1941. Motion was made and passed to accept the report. The motion was made, seconded and passed that the budget committee prepare a new budget for a twelve month period after the auditor's report in June, 1941.

Dwight Sanderson presented the report of the Committee on Program. Motion was made and seconded to approve the report with amendments recommended by the Executive Committee. This motion was passed.

A petition of the Section on Sociological Theory and Social Problems was read, and it was voted to refer this request to the Program Committee.

It was suggested that notes be kept on matters of constitutional change for the committee to be responsible for the revision of the Constitution.

It was moved and seconded to appoint a sub-committee of the Executive Committee to consider candidates for the editorial board of the *Review* and to consider co-ordination of the various officers therewith. The motion was passed.

Meeting adjourned at 6:35 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR,
DECEMBER 15, 1939 TO DECEMBER 15, 1940

During the past year three new committees have been appointed to study and report upon various considerations of policy. These are the Program Committee, the Clearing-House Committee on Personnel, and the Sub-Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency. The reports of these committees, in addition to those of continuing committees and of the Society's representatives and delegates (which are printed elsewhere in these reports and proceedings), outline a substantial proportion of the Society's activities.

In accordance with the vote of the Society at its last annual business meeting, a census of membership was taken, and a vote by mail on the report of the Committee on Organization was completed.

Special matters of business that were brought to the attention of the Executive Committee include: (1) a request from Phi Delta Kappa for the appointment of advisory editors to its projected "Dictionary of Education." (2) An invitation from the American Association for the Advancement of Science to appoint delegates to its Summer Sessions to be held at the University of New Hampshire, June 23 to 27, 1941. (3) An invitation from the American Council on Education to become an affiliate of the Council. (4) A request from the National Economic and Social Planning Association for an evaluation of its proposed Social Science Bureau, and (5) a request from the Committee on Conceptual Integration and one from Alpha Kappa Delta that their programs be listed on the Society's printed program.

Membership Statement. At the end of the current year, the total membership of the Society was 1034. This figure represents a gain of 163 new members, and a loss of 128 former members.

Details of membership for the current year and for 1939 are given in the following table:

COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP, 1939 AND 1940

1939		1940					
Membership Classes	Number	New	Transfers	Resigned	Deceased	Dropped	Total Number 1940
Single	834	103	19	9	7	92	848
Student	95	56	-17	3		13	118
Joint	16	2				1	17
Subscribing	7	1	-1	1			6
Life	29				1		28
Honorary	7				1		6
Exchange	3	1	-1				3
Chapters	8						8
Total	999	163	0	13	9	106	1,034

(See *Review*, 1938, 3: 79-80 and, 1939, 5: 93, for previous years.)

The Society is greatly indebted to the Membership Committee for its activity in recruiting new members. This committee consists of Julian L. Woodward, chairman, and Messrs. Alpert, Bushnell, Clark, Hart, Lindesmith, Lindstrom, Marsh, Metzler, Morris, Panunzio, Robert, Saylor, Schmid, Sewell, and Symons. In addition to recommendations by the Committee candidates were sponsored by Messrs. R. Bierstedt, G. Blackwell, H. Bloch, S. Burgess, M. Callaghan, M. Davie, J. Davis, K. Davis, C. De Sylvester, H. Dunham, H. Fairchild, R. Ford, N. Himes, J. Hirsh, G. Johnson, C. Joslyn, A. Kratz, F. Lumley, R. MacIver, E. Muntz, M. Parmelee, H. Phelps, S. Queen, S. Ratcliffe, R. Reed, P. Robert, L. Rockwood, E. Ross, T. Sellin, D. Thomas, W. Thomas, D. Young, W. Waller.

Necrology. The following deaths were reported for the year: C. Bouglé (Honorary Member), Robert E. Chaddock, August F. Fehlandt, Max S. Handman, J. C. Harper (Life Member), R. D. McKenzie, Alexander Goldenweiser, U. G. Weatherly, and Charles T. Loram.

A membership list for the current year, including new members who join during the early weeks of 1940, will appear in the February, 1941, *Review*.

Invitations for Future Meetings. Invitations have been received from Atlantic City, Columbus, New York, Pittsburgh, and Washington for 1941, and from Toronto, Indianapolis and St. Louis for 1942.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

ANNUAL REPORT, MANAGING EDITOR, *American Sociological Review* FOR
THE YEAR, DECEMBER 15, 1939 TO DECEMBER 15, 1940

Inventory of Proceedings. On December 15, the volumes of *Papers and Proceedings* on hand were:

Volume	Copies	Volume	Copies
I	8	XXI	211
VIII	6	XXII	76
X	31	XXIII	72
XII	9	XXIV	285
XV	129	XXV	309
XVI	1	XXVI	61
XVII	18	XXVII	270
XIX	167	XXVIII	93
XX	33	XXIX	85
		Total	1864

The total number of volumes, 1864, is 110 less than the number reported last year. The sale of these copies added \$132.59 to the treasurer's account.

The Society is still in need of Volumes II and III to complete its second set of *Proceedings* for its permanent file.

Inventory of Review. On December 15, the number of copies of the *American Sociological Review* on hand were as follows:

Volume I (1936)	1,607	Volume IV (1939)	1103
Volume II (1937)	1,162	Volume V (1940)	2227
Volume III (1938)	775		
		Total	6874

Of this total, 5646 copies are held in stock at the Banta Press; the remainder (1228) is held in the office of the Managing Editor. This total (6874) is 1953 copies more than the number reported a year ago. This inventory does not include a bound

set of each volume and five copies of each number which are held as permanent stock.

Income from the sales of the *Review*, in addition to its regular circulation, amounted to \$261.18.

Nineteen hundred copies of Volume V (Numbers 1-5) were printed. This amount was increased to 2000 copies beginning with Volume V, number 6.

Average distribution for the year is as follows:

Members	1034
Subscribers	85
Libraries	364
Exchange	47
Foreign Correspondents	4
Complimentary	56
Agency	13
Reserve	6
Total	1609

During the year a tax of ten per cent was placed on the *Reviews* going to Canadian Libraries; a request has been received for a reduced subscription rate by a number of the regional societies; and the *Review* has reserved a small space in the *Survey Bookshelf* to advertise itself.

Receipts and expenditures involved in operating the *Review* are stated separately in the report of the Treasurer.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Managing Editor*

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE FINANCIAL YEAR DECEMBER 15, 1939 TO DECEMBER 15, 1940

Financial operations of the Society are presented in the report of the Auditor for the first six months of this year and by a bookkeeping summary for the second six months. This change is made necessary by the shift in the fiscal year to the period, June 15 to June 15.

During the year the Society's investment of \$500.00 in Northwestern Electric Company bonds was called. Upon the recommendation of the Committee on Budget and Investment, this amount plus the sum of \$33.56 was invested in 12 shares of Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, a total of \$533.56.

As indicated in this summary, the Society has a net loss of \$80.27. Income for the period was \$9,094.72; expenses amounted to \$9,174.99. This loss is due to several unusual and unbudgeted expenses, namely, the refund of \$110 to the Pacific Sociological Society; an appropriation of \$200.00 to the Committee on the Participation of Sociologists in the National Emergency; and the special August *Review*.

It is probable that, for the fiscal year June 15, 1940 to June 15, 1941, there will be no loss. However, this report indicates that the financial operations of the Society should be centralized within the authority of one committee which will prevent excessive expenditures that are not budgeted and which will be sufficiently elastic to provide for emergencies.

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Treasurer*

July 31, 1940

To the Executive Committee of the
American Sociological Society:

We have examined the balance sheet of the American Sociological Society as of June 14, 1940 and the statements of income and surplus for the period December 15, 1939 to June 14, 1940, have reviewed the accounting procedures of the Society, and, without making a detailed audit of the transactions, have examined or tested its accounting records and other supporting evidence, by methods and to the extent we deemed appropriate.

In our opinion, the accompanying balance sheet and related statements of income and surplus present fairly the position of the *American Sociological Society* at June 14, 1940, and the results of its financial operations for the period December 15, 1939 to June 14, 1940, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles.

(Signed) MAIN AND COMPANY
Accountants and Auditors

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY BALANCE SHEET, JUNE 14, 1940

Assets

Cash		
On Deposit.....	4,473.91	
Petty Cash Fund.....	25.00	4,498.91
Accounts Receivable.....		191.77
Inventories, at Values Estimated by Treasurer		
1885 Copies of <i>Proceedings</i> at 50 Cents.....	942.50	
5542 Copies of <i>Review</i> at 25 Cents.....	1,385.50	2,328.00
Investments, at Cost		
\$600.00 Hyde Park Baptist Church of Chicago 6/46....	600.00	
3 Shares American Telephone and Telegraph Company Common.....	296.00	
5 Shares U. S. Steel Corporation 7% Preferred.....	532.41	
2 Shares West Penn Electric Company 7% Preferred....	185.18	
12 Shares Standard Oil Company of New Jersey Common	533.56	2,147.15
Office Furniture and Fixtures.....	279.49	
Less: Reserve for Depreciation.....	185.62	41.87
Prepaid Expenses		
Advances to University Post Office.....		9.91
<i>Total Assets</i>		<u>9,217.61</u>

Liabilities and Surplus

Accounts Payable		
Printing June, 1940 <i>Review</i>		775.30
Deferred Income		
One-half 1940 Dues.....	2,652.59	
1941 Dues Paid in Advance.....	4.00	
1941 Subscriptions Paid in Advance.....	87.92	
Postage.....	.50	2,745.01

Life Memberships.....	1,825.00
Surplus.....	3,872.30
<i>Total Liabilities and Surplus.....</i>	<u>9,217.61</u>

NOTE: Subject to comments of report.

STATEMENTS OF INCOME, EXPENSE, AND SURPLUS
DECEMBER 15, 1939 TO JUNE 14, 1940

	<i>Income</i>	<i>Allocation</i>	
		<i>Society</i>	<i>Review</i>
Dues			
Single.....	2,379.08	771.08	1,608.00
Student.....	206.00	74.75	131.25
Joint.....	59.50	25.50	34.00
Subscribing.....	30.00	18.00	12.00
Life Membership (Deceased Member)....	50.00	50.00	
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i>			
Library.....	1,070.80	—	1,070.80
Student.....	115.44	—	115.44
General.....	146.73	—	146.73
Sale of Publications			
<i>Review</i>	129.05	—	129.05
<i>Proceedings</i>	102.29	102.29	
Advertising in <i>Review</i>	442.86	—	442.86
Income from Investments.....	85.72	25.72	60.00
Royalties.....	11.56	11.56	
Net Increase in Inventory of Publications....	110.25	45.00*	155.25
<i>Total Income.....</i>	<u>4,939.28</u>	<u>1,033.90</u>	<u>3,905.38</u>
<i>Expense</i>			
Honoraria			
President.....	25.00	25.00	—
Secretary.....	150.00	150.00	—
Assistant to Managing Editor.....	30.50	—	30.50
Clerical Aid to Secretary and Managing Editor	385.75	192.87	192.88
Cost of Printing <i>Review</i> Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of			
Volume 5.....	2,404.09		2,404.09
<i>Reviews</i> Purchased.....	10.72	10.72	—
Discounts Allowed on Publications.....	60.31	—	60.31
Printing and Stationery.....	405.51	202.75	202.76
Postage, Telegraph, Telephone, and Express..	163.29	81.64	81.65
Depreciation on Office Furniture and Fixtures	11.38	5.69	5.69
Other Office Expense.....	25.47	12.73	12.74
Editor's Office Expense.....	172.40	—	172.40
Book Review Editor's Office Expense.....	250.00	—	250.00
Traveling Expense.....	134.17	134.17	—
Annual Meeting Expense.....	68.00	68.00	—

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

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Public Relations Committee Expense.....	57.15	57.15	—
Organization Committee Expense.....	50.00	50.00	—
Membership Committee Expense.....	7.76	7.76	—
Auditing.....	100.00	50.00	50.00
Dues and Subscriptions.....	40.00	40.00	—
Bad Debts.....	11.48	11.48	—
Miscellaneous Expense.....	28.26	14.13	14.13

<i>Total Expense</i>	4,591.24	1,114.09	3,477.15
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<i>Net Income</i>	348.04	80.19†	428.23
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Surplus

Balance, December 15, 1939.....	3,524.26
Add: Net Income, December 15, 1939 to June 14, 1940.....	34.04
<i>Balance, June 14, 1940</i>	<u>3,872.30</u>

* Decrease.

† Loss.

NOTE: Subject to comments of report.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
DECEMBER 15, 1939 TO DECEMBER 14, 1940

	<i>Income</i>		
	<i>6 months ending 6/14/40</i>	<i>6 months ending 12/14/40</i>	<i>1940 Account</i>
Dues			
Single.....	2,379.08	2,613.41	4,992.49
Student.....	206.00	254.00	460.00
Joint.....	59.50	59.50	119.00
Subscribing.....	30.00	30.00	60.00
Life Membership.....	50.00	—	50.00
Subscriptions to <i>Review</i>			
Library.....	1,070.80	113.00	1,183.80
Student.....	115.44	24.04	139.48
General.....	146.73	18.47	165.20
Sale of <i>Publications</i>			
<i>Review</i>	129.05	132.13	261.18
<i>Proceedings</i>	102.29	30.30	132.59
Occupations.....	—	15.75	15.75
Advertising in <i>Review</i>	442.86	431.90	874.76
Income from Investments.....	85.72	77.00	162.72
Royalties.....	11.56	33.44	45.00
Net Increase in Inventory of <i>Publications</i>	110.25	322.50	432.75
<i>Total Income</i>	4,939.28	4,155.44	9,094.72

Expense

<i>Honoraria</i>			
President.....	25.00	—	25.00
Secretary.....	150.00	250.00	400.00
Assistant to Managing Editor.....	30.50	25.00	55.50
Clerical Aid to Secretary—Man. Editor.....	385.75	441.80	827.55
Cost of Printing <i>Review</i> , Vol. V, nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6.....	2,404.09	2,892.56	5,296.65
<i>Proceedings</i> purchased.....	10.72	5.65	16.37
Discounts Allowed on Publications.....	60.31	75.19	135.50
Printing and Stationery.....	405.51	226.61	632.02
Postage, Telegraph, Telephone & Express....	163.29	176.61	339.90
Depreciation on Office F. and F.....	11.38	11.38	22.76
Other Office Expenses.....	25.47	25.40	50.87
Editor's Office Expenses.....	172.40	38.40	210.80
Book Review Editor's Office Expense.....	250.00	100.00	350.00
Traveling Expense.....	134.17	44.00	178.17
Annual Meeting Expenses.....	68.00	—	68.00
Public Relations Committee Expense.....	57.15	14.64	71.79
Organization Committee Expense.....	50.00	28.50	78.50
Membership Committee Expense.....	7.76	10.90	18.66
Emergency Sub-Committee.....	—	200.00	200.00
Auditing.....	100.00	75.00	175.00
Dues and Subscriptions.....	40.00	—	40.00
Bad Debts.....	11.48	3.27	14.75
Miscellaneous Expense.....	28.26	16.44	44.70
<i>Total Expenses</i>	4,591.24	4,661.25	9,252.49
Unexpended surplus in editor's office....	—	—	77.50
Net Loss for year.....	348.04*	505.81†	80.27
First Six Months Auditor's report			
Second Six Months Bookkeeping Summary			

Surplus

Balance, December 15, 1939.....	3,524.26
Less: Net Loss for year.....	80.27
<i>Balance December 14, 1950.</i>	<u>3,443.99</u>

* Gain. † Loss.

REPORT OF BUDGET COMMITTEE

BUDGET AND FINANCIAL STATEMENT FOR 1940
AND PROPOSED BUDGET FOR 1941*Income*

	1940 Budget	1940 Account	1941 Budget
<i>Treasurer's Account</i>			
Dues.....	5,775.00	5,671.49	5,700.00
<i>Proceedings</i> Sold.....	50.00	132.59	131.76
Interest on Investments.....	135.00	162.72	162.72
Royalties.....	40.00	45.00	40.00
Occupations.....	—	15.75	—
	<u>6,000.00</u>	<u>6,275.55</u>	<u>6,034.48</u>

Review Account

Subscriptions.....	1,350.00	1,488.48	1,488.28
Sale of <i>Review</i>	400.00	261.18	260.00
Advertising.....	850.00	874.76	875.00
	<u>2,600.00</u>	<u>2,624.42</u>	<u>2,623.28</u>
Total Income.....	<u>8,600.00</u>	<u>8,651.97</u>	<u>8,657.76</u>

*Expenditures**Treasurer's Account*

Clerical aid.....	450.00	413.70	450.00
*Secretary, honorarium.....	300.00	400.00	400.00
Postage, telegraph and express.....	210.00	210.00	210.00
Printing and stationery, total.....	210.00	316.00	210.00
Office expense.....	25.00	50.87	50.00
Travel, Secretary.....	150.00	178.18	100.00
Convention expense.....	75.00	68.00	75.00
President, honorarium.....	25.00	25.00	—
Dues and subscriptions.....	40.00	40.00	40.00
Bank charges.....	5.00	—	5.00
Auditor.....	125.00	175.00	125.00
Bad debts.....	25.00	14.75	25.00
Depreciation of Furn. & Fix.....	25.00	22.76	22.76
Public Relations Committee.....	150.00	71.79	150.00
Committee on Organization.....	200.00	78.50	—
Committee on Membership.....	—	18.66	25.00
Census of Research.....	80.00	—	80.00
Miscellaneous.....	30.00	24.70	30.00
Purchase of <i>Proceedings</i>	15.00	16.37	—
	<u>2,140.00</u>	<u>2,124.28</u>	<u>1,997.76</u>

Review Account

Editor: Total.....	350.00	210.80	325.00
Clerical help.....	{ 250.00 }		{ 250.00 }
Postage and incidentals.....	{ 50.00 }		{ 50.00 }
Travel.....	{ 50.00 }		{ 50.00 }
Book-Review Editors: Total.....	350.00	350.00	325.00
Clerical aid.....	{ 300.00 }		{ 300.00 }
Postage and incidentals.....	{ 50.00 }		{ 50.00 }
Managing Editor			
Clerical Aid.....	450.00	413.85	500.00
Postage, telegraph, and express...	150.00	129.90	150.00
Printing and stationery.....	200.00	316.02	200.00
Miscellaneous.....	50.00	20.00	50.00
Travel.....	—	—	50.00
Assistant's honorarium.....	50.00	55.50	50.00
Geo. Banta Publishing Company...	4,700.00	5,296.65	4,700.00
Discounts allowed.....	150.00	135.50	150.00
	<u>6,450.00</u>	<u>6,928.22</u>	<u>6,500.00</u>

	1940 Budget	1940 Account	1941 Budget
Other Items:			
Refund to Pacific Sociological Society	—	—	60.00
Committee on Sociology in the National Emergency.....	—	—	100.00
			160.00
Grand Total: Treas. Acct.....	2,140.00	2,124.27	1,997.76
Review Acct.....	6,450.00	6,928.22	6,500.00
Other Items.....	—	—	160.00
	8,590.00	9,052.49	8,657.76

* See Vol. V. No. 1, p. 99.

The Budget Committee recommends the following:

1. That in the future the President appoint three or more members of the Executive Committee to serve as the Budget and Finance Committee. This committee shall be charged with the control of the Society's financial matters, including the making of investments and the preparation of the budget.
2. That an effort be made next year to include a contingency fund as an item in the budget.
3. That, subject to the auditor's discretion after his annual audit, June 15, 1941, additional amounts may be added as follows:
A sum \$50 for clerical work to the treasurer and managing editor;
A sum of \$25 to the Editor's accounts conditional upon an equal sum to the Book Review Editor's account.

IRWIN T. SANDERS, *Chairman*
RUBY JO REEVES
DWIGHT SANDERSON
E. H. SUTHERLAND
DONALD YOUNG

REPORT OF THE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE, 1940

A committee composed of twenty-nine members of the Society, each member responsible for a particular geographical area, has been working on the problem of securing memberships during the year 1940.

Eighteen members of the committee have been active in soliciting membership prospects in their districts. A total of 540 letters were sent out to names furnished by the committee members. In most cases the letters were signed by the local committeeman and sent from his own office.

The committee has little way of knowing what success this mail-solicitation campaign has had, since the membership applications were sent directly to the secretary's office. The total membership of the Society is at present higher than in any cent year, however, and it would be pleasant to think that this is in some part a result of the committee's efforts.

The annual membership statement of the Secretary's report gives the number of new members added to membership in 1940.

Respectfully submitted,

JULIAN L. WOODWARD, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF SECRETARIES OF
REGIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETIES

One request came to the Society that is partly within the scope of this Committee, and that is the question of refunding to regional societies on the basis of active membership. Upon the vote of the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society, a refund of \$2.00 per member was made to the Pacific Sociological Society, a total of \$110 being returned to that Society.

It is the consensus of the secretaries of regional societies that no similar refund will be asked in the immediate future, but this policy is contingent upon the affiliation between the national and regional societies and upon the place of annual meetings in years to come. The Pacific Sociological Society is requesting a continuation of the refund, and this matter will be acted upon both by the Committee on Organization and the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

HAROLD A. PHELPS, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL RESEARCH

The chief work of the Committee on Social Research during 1940 was the taking of the Annual Census of Current Research Projects. The schedules were mailed to all members of the Society on February 15, to be returned March 15, and reports were mailed to the chairmen of the various divisions and sections of the Society on April 15. The final report of the Census was published in the August 1940 issue of the *American Sociological Review*. It contained 357 projects, as compared to 416 in 1939, 321 in 1938, 299 in 1937 and 336 in 1936.

Questions concerning research hypotheses and the form in which research conclusions were stated were added to the Census schedule, and a section on the Theory of Social Problems was added to the Census report.

The Committee also organized the two programs of the Division of Social Research for the Annual Meeting of the Society.

Respectively submitted,

RAYMOND V. BOWERS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC RELATIONS

During the past year—its third—the Society's Committee on Public Relations has somewhat extended its activities. In 1938 and 1939, it undertook to arrange for and guide the interpretation in the press of papers read before the Society's annual meeting. This year, it also interpreted to the newspaper and magazine press selected articles appearing in each number of the *American Sociological Review*.

In this new effort, the Committee fortunately had the cooperation of a number of specialists in the interpretation of scientific materials, especially of Miss Emily C. Davis, Staff Writer, Science Service; Howard W. Blakeslee, Science Editor, and Gladwin Hill and John Lear, Special Writers, The Associated Press; Waldemar Kaempffert, Science Editor, *The New York Times*; John J. O'Neill, Science Editor, *New York Herald Tribune*; and David Dietz, Science Editor, Scripps-Howard Newspapers.

Carefully prepared interpretations based upon one or more articles in each number of the *Review* were widely syndicated through the services mentioned and also through the United Press Associations, International News Service, etc.

If a more adequate allotment is made for expenses during 1941, this effort may be carried out more easily and more efficiently. The Committee understands that this

program, even on its present basis, has resulted in increased requests from non-members for copies of the *Review*.

Harold A. Phelps, Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, and Read Bain, Editor of the *Review*, aided extensively to bring the number of papers received from convention speakers to a new high (42). This total includes only those that reached the Committee in time for adequate study and "processing." Acknowledgment must also be made of the cooperation extended us by the chairmen of the Society's sections and divisions.

The policies of the Committee were outlined as follows in these two paragraphs from a circular letter sent on November 4th to speakers before the present meeting:

To serve adequately the Society and its speakers, our Committee needs to be in a position (1) to advise reporters that a given paper is "too technical" for popular interpretation, or (2) to furnish reporters with several suitable paragraphs from the paper, or (3) to supply reporters with a rather complete press review of the paper. The Committee does not want reporters to feel obliged to cover meetings themselves.

The purpose of the Committee is not primarily to "get space." It is, rather, to interpret to the press those aspects of the Society's contributions which will give an understandable and a constructive impression of the work of sociologists.

This statement of policies is being followed with care.

Unfortunately some confusion—not of a serious nature, however—resulted this year from the fact that the Allied Social Science Societies retained public relations counsel without being fully aware of the manner in which the American Sociological Society's Committee functions. A committee representing the Allied Societies worked out an arrangement with the Department of Press Relations of the University of Chicago under which that department agreed to handle press arrangements for all of the societies meeting in Chicago this week.

Since your Committee had been entrusted by the Society with carrying out its program separately, and since your Committee's work had already been launched somewhat before the Allied committee made its arrangements, your Committee carried through its program in the same fashion that it had in previous years. The Committee naturally welcomes the fact that the other Allied Societies are beginning to make more suitable press-relations arrangements, but it believes that such arrangements should be planned well in advance of the conventions and should be worked out with full regard for the policies and activities of each of the societies involved. The following is a paragraph, for example, from a form letter sent to some of our Society's speakers by Martin Gardner, Associate Director, Department of Press Relations, University of Chicago, on December 12th, more than five weeks after our communication quoted above:

Press of time has forbidden replies from the designated press representatives of your organization. If a separate request for your paper has been received, you may disregard this letter or . . . route a duplicate copy of your paper to this office.

Despite their late start, Mr. Gardner and Harry E. Shubart, Acting Director of the University of Chicago Department, have done an efficient piece of work for the other societies.

It is, of course, too early to report on the results of your Committee's efforts this year. The newspapers of December 27-30 will tell that story. But your Committee does wish to acknowledge its indebtedness again in this connection to the science writers mentioned above and also to Wayne Butler, United Press Associations; Miss Anna P. North, *Time*; John Pfeiffer, Science Editor, *Newsweek*; Boyd Lewis, Central Division News Manager, United Press Associations; and the representatives of the Chicago *Tribune*, *Times*, *Daily News*, *Herald-American*, Associated Press,

International News Service, and City News Bureau. Of great aid to the Committee's chairman in "processing" papers were his colleagues, John Syrjamaki of New York University, Clyde Beals of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, and Elizabeth Briant Lee. Members of the Committee were quite helpful in the definition of policies and in obtaining better cooperation for the Committee's program.

In closing, the Committee wishes to make these specific recommendations to the Society:

1. That the Society favor the coordination of the press relations programs of the various Allied Social Science Societies upon a basis that will provide adequate time and talent for the program.

2. That the Society be represented in the planning of such coordination by a Public Relations Committee which should include in its membership the President of the Society and the Chairman of its Committee on Local Arrangements.

3. That the allotment for the publicizing of the *Review* be increased to some more suitable sum, at least \$150.

Respectfully submitted,
ALFRED MCCLUNG LEE, *Chairman*

New York University
December 26, 1940

READ BAIN, *Miami University*

ROBERT MORRISON MACIVER, *Columbia University*

STANLEY H. CHAPMAN, *Yale University*

ROBERT E. PARK, *University of Chicago*

NOEL P. GIST, *University of Missouri*

HAROLD A. PHELPS, *University of Pittsburgh*

ELIZABETH BRIANT LEE, *South Norwalk, Connecticut*

MALCOLM M. WILLEY, *University of Minnesota*

REPORT OF THE REPRESENTATIVE TO THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE

The A.A.A.S. met in Seattle June 17 to 22, 1940. In addition to three general symposia on the topic "Social and Economic Problems of the Pacific Northwest in Relation to their National Setting," Section K held five sessions on Population Trends, Migration and Settlement, Standards of Living and Employment, and Employer-Employee Relationships.

The Council took no action on any subject on account of limited attendance of the representatives of the constituent societies.

Respectfully submitted,
GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

REPORT OF THE DELEGATE TO THE AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

In May, 1940, the American Library Association convened in Cincinnati for its sixty-second annual conference. From the trends indicated in the discussions it is clear that the function of the library is changing; that it is no longer a house of books and the librarian a mere dispenser of its contents. The library today is beginning to realize the possibilities of its contribution to the solution of local, national, and world problems. It is awakening to the fact that it has been functioning according to a pattern which has lagged behind the general level of culture, and that to fulfill the role of a major educational institution it must modify that pattern so that it fits the gestalt of present-day society.

To illustrate the preoccupation of the program participants with the interplay of community and library, a few items selected from many will be noted. The depres-

sion, making necessary the cutting of library funds, together with the advent of radio and movie as agencies of entertainment, is forcing a reconsideration of the policy of book buying. The President of the Association, Mr. Albert Munn, in his address contended that pieces of little literary and social significance, as some novels and detective stories (the circulation of which involves time and expense of administration), should be curtailed, and fewer but more serious writings substituted. Economic forces and the coming of new modes of recreation, therefore, raise the question of accommodating policy.

Recent trends in adult education and extensions of library facilities to hitherto neglected groups in city and countryside were canvassed. One result of inflated borrowing was deplored by a speaker who claimed that the old private family collections of much read books (itself an evidence of and an aid to the deepening of family solidarity) was passing, even in families able to buy books.

An insistent perplexity facing librarians in these days of war is the advisability of restricted circulation of "subversive" literature. An evening program, "The Town Meeting of the Air," was given over to a debate on the policy of censorship. Mr. Gilbert Bettman, former Attorney General of Ohio, maintained that "the spearhead of subversive publications is pointed right at the portals of our American libraries." He argued for a policy of restriction, "placing the responsibility in the sound judgment of the librarian and his trustees in book selection, arrived at with the consciousness of America's belief in democracy, and the world-wide propagandist assault being made against it."

The opposition speech of Mr. Arthur Hays, of the Civil Liberties Union, followed the lead of J. S. Mill. He argued that "Democracy has no meaning if someone else is to tell me what I may think, say, or read."

It may fairly be concluded that the perennial academic questions of the social sciences are live concerns of the library, conceived as an organ functioning in a process of institutional reconstruction. The application of this view of its function to the professional training of librarians need not be elaborated. Sociologists may find a morsel of encouragement in the fact that a hundred years after the labors of Comte the word "sociology" was uttered by a lawyer in a program broadcast to thousands of listeners. Mr. Arthur Hays said: "It would be hard to conceive of any critical book on sociology, economics, or even on politics that might not have a tendency in the minds of some people to undermine confidence in our institutions."

Finally, if the reporter is allowed a comment, sociologists may be permitted to hope that in the future not only the word "sociology" may be heard in increasing volume, but to predict that the substance itself may more and more permeate the daily work of the librarian.

E. L. TALBERT, *University of Cincinnati*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMS

To the President and Executive Committee of the
American Sociological Society:

Your committee appointed by President R. M. MacIver, to consider the organization and arrangement of programs for the annual meetings, offers the following recommendations:

1. That Article VIII of the Constitution be amended by changing Section II to be Section I; Section III to be Section II; Section VII to be Section III; and that Sections I, IV, V and VI be deleted. This eliminates the Divisions. Your committee feels that there is no clear cut difference between Divisions and Sections and that

maintaining the present Divisions tends to increase the number of sessions unnecessarily. We are in favor of having as many Sections as may be desired, but we see no advantage in maintaining Divisions which overlap the subject matter of the Sections. To this end we have given notice of the above amendment to the Constitution, so that it may be acted upon at the December 1940 meeting, and that divisions be continued as sections until revised.

2. That there should be two general sessions of the Society devoted to strong programs on vital subjects of interest to all, with no competing sectional meetings. These sessions should be devoted to some one topic, or to nearly related topics, with not over two or three papers, or to a panel discussion on some live issue, and there should be ample time for discussion from the floor.

3. That one evening session be given to the address of the President and the addresses of the Presidents of affiliated Societies. This involves omitting the annual dinner, the time for which can be used to better advantage, and which is not well attended because of expense.

4. That all two-hour sessions, except those suggested under paragraph 8, be restricted to two or three papers, with not more than that number of discussants who should be limited rigidly to not over 10 minutes each and be required to confine their remarks to the paper under discussion, so that there may be ample time for discussion from the floor.

5. That no one general theme be used for both the general sessions and section meetings.

6. That luncheon sessions should be abandoned as being time-consuming and conflicting with afternoon sessions.

7. That a Program Committee be created by the By-Laws, to be composed of the President, Secretary, and Editor of the *Review*; that this committee appoint the Chairmen of Sections which do not elect their own officers; and that with the Section Chairmen it pass on such papers as may be submitted under the provision of paragraph 8, and that the Program Committee review the number and subjects of the different sections.

8. That one session of each section may well be devoted to contributed papers on recent research. These papers should be of a summary nature and should be limited rigidly to 10 to 15 minutes in length. Submission of contributed papers would be open to all members of the Society. It is recommended that the Program Committee (see Paragraph 7) be empowered to make rules concerning them, but it is suggested that they should be submitted by September first and that only the best be referred to the chairman of the respective Sections to which the papers relate, as possible program material. This system has long been used by several national scientific societies, and has been used for one session of the Eastern Sociological Society with satisfactory results in giving notice to worthy research.

9. That the Secretaries of each of the Regional Societies be invited each year to submit a memorandum of papers or of research projects which have been reported at the regional meetings which might well be presented at the annual meeting of this Society, and to suggest topics of general interest to their members for consideration at the general sessions of this Society.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD BECKER
SHELBY HARRISON
NORMAN S. HAYNER
J. O. HERTZLER

ROBERT K. MERTON
SCOTT NEARING
DONALD YOUNG
DWIGHT SANDERSON, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE DELEGATE TO THE COUNCIL ON HUMAN RELATIONS

During the calendar year, 1940, the Council on Human Relations held one meeting. The next meeting will probably occur early in 1941.

During the year, the work of the Council was retarded considerably by the death of Chief Silcox of the U. S. Forest Service and the subsequent delay in filling the vacancy so created. Also, the difficulty, experienced earlier, of obtaining an effective basis for the discussion of the social problems of the Forest Service has persisted. Not only have the members of the Council been insufficiently familiar with the work of the Forest Service but they have had too little time to become acquainted with it. On the other hand, the members of the Forest Service, unfamiliar with the tenets and methods of the social and psychological sciences, have been unable to present their problems in such terms that they could be readily attacked by the Council. Much lost motion has resulted in an attempt to resolve the complex situations presented by the Forest Service into such terms that the Council could attack them with some promise of being helpful.

In spite of the above difficulties, however, certain things have been accomplished. The early recommendation of the Council that spot studies be made of the social and psychological factors contributing to the fire hazard in areas of frequent fires resulted in a study by Dr. J. P. Shea of the Forest Service in the Talladega Forest in Georgia. This study has created considerable interest and is being followed by similar studies in Louisiana and Florida. The Council had some part in planning these studies.

Following an earlier suggestion of the Council, a committee of the Forest Service has recently produced a report embodying suggestions for the revision of signs and posters in use by the Forest Service. This report is being submitted to the Council for review.

Under the supervision of Dr. English and Dr. Fryer of the Council, certain work in the development of attitude scales and aptitude tests is being promoted by the Forest Service.

During the past summer, Dr. Fryer attended a regional meeting of the Forest Service at Elkins, West Virginia and gave much time to a detailed consideration of the problems of fire control.

Other accomplishments might be listed. While up to this time, the work of the Council has been justified by results, the members of the Council do not feel that the hope of former Chief Silcox, namely, that the function of the Council is to explore a new type of relationship under conditions of friendly experimentation, has been realized. Nevertheless, in view of the present outlook, it would seem advisable for the Council to continue, for another year, the attempt to define an area of service and to further the application of the social and psychological sciences to the problems of the U. S. Forest Service.

Respectfully submitted,

C. E. LIVELY, *Secretary*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INCORPORATION TO
THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

We have examined the question of incorporation in accordance with the instructions of the Executive Committee and have decided that it will be both advisable and timely for the Society to become an incorporated organization. This decision was reached on the basis of the unofficial study of this question which was reported to the Committee two years ago. In addition, we consulted the secretaries of other

similar societies and the administrative secretary of the American Council of Learned Societies, all of whom were in unanimous agreement that a society of our type should be incorporated.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT M. MACIVER

President, American Sociological Society

HAROLD A. PHELPS

Secretary, American Sociological Society

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HONORARY MEMBERSHIPS

The Committee on Honorary Memberships of the American Sociological Society desires to recommend the election of the following person to honorary membership in the Society:

DR. EDUARD BENEŠ

Dr. Beneš is internationally known as the former President of Czechoslovakia and one of the chief factors in the creation and development of the League of Nations with which he was intimately associated for many years.

It is a source of pride that one who has been so prominent in world affairs should also be a member of our own sociological guild. In 1909, (after having previously received a Doctor's degree from the Law Faculty of the University of Dijon) he received a second degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Charles University (University of Prague) for work done and a thesis written within the field of sociology in the philosophical faculty under Professor Thomas G. Masaryk.

In 1912, his volume was published entitled *Partisanship: A Sociological Study*, which led to his appointment as Privat Docent at the University of Prague where he continued his faculty connections, although broken many times by public affairs, until the German occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1938. Following the First World War, he accepted nomination as Professor of Sociology at the University of Prague, where his name and connection were retained even after he had become Dr. Masaryk's successor as President of his country. At the present time he is on the faculty of the University of Chicago, as Professor under the Walgreen Foundation.

JOSEPH MAYER, *Library of Congress*

NOEL P. GIST, *University of Missouri*

CARL A. DAWSON, *McGill University*

EARLE EUBANK, *University of Cincinnati, Chairman*

Dec. 1, 1940

NOTE ON THE REPORT OF THE CLEARING-HOUSE COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL

The report of the committee which studied problems of personnel and placement presents a review of the following aspects of this situation.

1. The number of students graduating with the doctor's degree.
2. The general sources of employment and the likelihood of overcrowding.
3. The development in recent years of governmental positions.
4. Techniques of obtaining a position.

Specific difficulties in placement.

5. Potential openings.
6. Possible revisions in graduate study that would expedite the placement of students. Types of specialties most and least in demand.
7. Alpert's survey of sociologists in New York City.

Because of the length of this Report, a mimeographed copy will be furnished to members for a fee of ten cents to cover the costs of mimeographing. Send your requests for this report to the secretary.

MEETING OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD

THE EDITORIAL BOARD of the *Review* met on December 27, 1940 and took action on three items which should be of interest to all members of the Society.

1. It was decided to dispense with the services of the advertising agent. This places additional burdens upon our already overworked managing editor but he is willing to accept them and believes that he can thus increase the net income to the Society from advertising by several hundred dollars.

Since we incurred a deficit last year, due to the increased cost of the special issue on disorganization (August 1940) which has not sold as well as we hoped, and to the fact that more copies of each issue are now being printed, and that the expected increase in subscribers has not occurred, this additional income will be very welcome and should balance our budget.

2. The *Review* will hereafter pay the entire cost of cuts. Heretofore, we have charged contributors one half of all engraving costs in excess of \$5.00. This new policy may make it necessary for the editor to ask some authors to dispense with some cuts. They should be kept at a minimum in all articles, of course. They always should add to the clarity and completeness of the text, and not be used for esthetic purposes.

3. It was decided to review fewer borderline books, and to deal with more books in unsigned notes, thus releasing more space for longer reviews of strictly sociological treatises which appear to be of permanent value. This does not apply to textbooks, of course, unless they seem to be something more substantial than ordinary texts. If they are in the nature of a systematic treatise which makes new contributions in the way of theory, method, or original data, the fact that they may also be usable as texts will not remove them from the class of books to be reviewed at some length. Our intention is that these longer reviews shall be more than a mere summary of contents. They should assume that the readers of the review already have read the book, so that the reviewer can devote his space to an incisive critical evaluation of the methods and conclusions of the treatise.—R.B.

CENSUS OF RESEARCH, 1941

The schedules for the 1941 Census of Research will be mailed about February 15. These should be filled out and mailed *at once* to Raymond V. Bowers, University of Rochester, Rochester, N.Y. Proper classification of these data takes considerable time, and since the final report must reach the editor by June 20, the schedules should be returned to Mr. Bowers not later than May 20.

Because of the work of the Committee on the Emergency and the general defense situation, it is hoped that a very complete record of the research activities of the members may be presented this year.

CURRENT ITEMS

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MEETINGS

The American Economic Association held its Fifty-third Annual Meeting at New Orleans, Dec. 27-30, 1940, jointly with the Southern Economic Association.

American Institute of Family Relations, 607 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Paul Poponoe, Director, held its hundredth conference at Occidental College, at Eagle Rock, Calif., on Oct. 4-5, 1940. Twenty-one addresses and discussion groups comprised the program. The general topic was "The Successful Family."

Roy E. Dickerson has become a permanent member of the staff as educational extension worker.

The American Orthopsychiatric Association, an organization for the study and treatment of behavior and its disorders, will hold its Eighteenth Annual Meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania, New York City, on February 20, 21, and 22, 1941. A registration fee will be charged for nonmembers. Preliminary program will be sent on request. Address the Association at 1790 Broadway, New York.

American Sociological Society, District of Columbia Chapter, began its 1940-41 season with a dinner meeting at which Ralph Danhoff, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Harold Kube, of the Census of Manufacturers, spoke on "Some Aspects of the Relation of Decentralization of Industry to Defense."

The November dinner meeting was addressed by Walter C. Lowdermilk, of the Soil Conservation Service. His illustrated lecture was entitled "Soil Erosion and Civilization."

The American Statistical Society held its 102nd Annual Meeting at Chicago, Dec. 26-28, 1940, at the Stevens Hotel. About 75 papers were given and discussed. The presidential address was by F. Leslie Hayford at the joint meeting with the Sociological Society. His topic was "An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of Statisticians." The new president for 1941 is Winfield W. Riefler, of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey.

The American Youth Commission has issued *Matching Youth and Jobs*, by Howard M. Bell. It is published by the American Council of Education, 744 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C., price \$2.00. It will be reviewed in the *Review* in the near future.

The Eastern Sociological Society will hold its annual conference at the Biltmore Hotel in Providence, Rhode Island, on April 19th and 20th, 1941. The program will include sections on Personality and Culture, Sociology and National Defense, the Motivation of Research, and Professional Practices Affecting Teachers of Sociology. The centennial of the birth of Lester F. Ward will be recognized.

The Saturday morning session (April 19) will be given over to reports on research, in accordance with the practice of recent years. The papers for this section are to be submitted beforehand to a committee which will assign to each report a specified length of time based on its apparent value and general interest. The chairman of this section will be J. H. S. Bossard, of the University of Pennsylvania, and all papers should be sent to him. All members of the Eastern Society who are carrying on research are urged to submit reports of their work. Graduate students or other persons in the East not members of the Society may send in papers on the recommendation of members. (This latter provision is an innovation this year.)

Details regarding the conference may be obtained either from the President, Maurice R. Davie, Yale University, or the Secretary, Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, Norton, Massachusetts.

Iowa Association of Economists and Sociologists, under the presidency of J. H. Ennis, Cornell College, met in Des Moines, Nov. 8, 1940, and discussed the general question of teaching the social studies in high school together with the college training of such teachers.

Journal of the History of Ideas. This quarterly has completed its first volume and Number 1, Volume II, has just appeared (Jan. 1941). Its first publication escaped the eagle eye of this observer, but it should be mentioned now, in case it has not come to the attention of some of our readers. It is a very attractive journal of about 150 pages mostly devoted to original articles. There are some book notes, reviews, and discussions but this part of the contents is smaller than is customary in scholarly journals.

It meets a need which many scholars in the social and humanistic fields long have felt. There is a growing interest in borderline studies which do not exactly fall within the limits of interest, at least as at present defined, of most specialized journals. The *J. H. I.* is essentially a cross-fertilizing-of-ideas project. It may be regarded as an intellectual island of synthesis in the great coral (because new atolls are ever poking their heads above the circumambient waves of ignorance) archipelago of specialization. It is an effort to get perspective in a world where ideas, all of which have histories, are flashing back and forth like luminous particles in a vacuum tube. We often lose needed perspective in the fireworks of our own cerebrating brilliance.

The *J. H. I.* starts with better financial backing than such journals usually have, but it needs many subscribers, donors, and sustaining members in order to fulfill its purpose. Subscription is \$4.00 per year (three years, \$10.00), Sustaining Membership is \$25.00, and Donorship is anything from one dollar up. (The Board, being philosophers, probably would reject a gift of one million dollars, but they might take a quarter of a million.)

All subscription, and other moneys, should be sent to the Managing Editor, Philip P. Wiener, College of City of N. Y., Convent Avenue and 139th Street, New York. All communications or articles for publication should be sent to the same address.

In the first volume, I notice articles by such persons as Crane Brinton, Hans Kohn, Otto Kraushaar, Arthur O. Lovejoy, J. H. Randall, Jr., Bertrand Russell, F. J. E. Teggart, and other eminent scholars. Professor Lovejoy is editor, with Brinton, Chinard, M. R. Cohen, Coker, McKeon, Perry Miller, M. H. Nicolson, Randall, Schapiro, and Louis B. Wright as associate editors. Not many journals start out so well staffed as this. Joseph T. Shipley is assistant editor. The *J. H. I.* should have a long and useful career and the *Review* welcomes it most heartily.—R. B.

The Mid-West Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting at Des Moines, Hotel Kirkwood, April 17-18-19, 1941. The program will be organized under the following general topics. The names in parentheses are the chairmen of these sections. Those who have suggestions to make regarding the program should write directly to the chairmen. (Their addresses will all be found in the Membership List in this issue—I hope!)

Sociological Theory and Research (J. M. Gillette, University of North Dakota); Social Psychology (C. Arnold Anderson, Iowa State College); Rural Sociology (David E. Lindstrom, University of Illinois); The Family (Harvey J. Locke, Indiana University); Public Opinion (Helen MacGill Hughes, Chicago); Political Sociology (L. H. Brown, Creighton University); Committee on Research (Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas); Educational Sociology (M. W. Roper, Kansas State Teachers College); Institutional Sociology (Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City); Population (C. Terence Philblad, University of Missouri); Sociology and Social Work (Benjamin F. Youngdahl, Washington University).

The Mid-West Student Sociological Society is under the direction of Miss Marguerite Reuss, Marquette University. All students in the region are urged to be present and to communicate with Miss Reuss regarding the plans for the student program and activities, a reception for the students and a trip to points of sociological interest near Des Moines have already been arranged. The Hotel Kirkwood is providing a special room for the students who of course may also attend the meetings of the M-W.S.S.

The M-W.S.S. held its annual breakfast at the Congress Hotel, Dec. 28, 1940. There were about 25 persons present.

The National Archives is cooperating with the American University in inaugurating a program for the training of archivists, which includes courses on the history and administration of archives, American and European administrative history, and the administration of current records and record systems. In addition, the National Archives has again made available several in-service training courses, which include seminars on the arrangement and description of archival material, directed by Solon J. Buck, and on research materials in the National archives, directed by Philip M. Hamer.

Recent accessions which may be of interest to sociologists are: records of the first and second occupations of Cuba in 1898-1902 and 1906-09 pertaining to censuses, public works, customs and postal services, and other functions of central and local government; individual files on pension and bounty-land claims based on service during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 and the related exhibits submitted in support of those claims, such as family Bibles, marriage certificates, commissions and discharges, and diaries; and about 1000 posters pertaining to Liberty Loan bonds, food conservation, recruiting, labor, and other subjects.

A 303-page *Guide to the Material in The National Archives*, describing records received to December 31, 1939, has been published by the Government Printing Office. Paper-bound copies may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents at 40 cents and cloth-bound copies at 70 cents.

The National Conference on Family Relations held its Third Annual Meeting in Chicago at the Stevens Hotel, Dec. 26-27-28, 1940. Eighteen addresses and panel discussions were on the program. President Adolf Meyer, of Johns Hopkins, presided, and many nationally known specialists took part in the meetings. Some of the sessions were held in conjunction with the A.S.S. section on the Family.

The annual dues, which includes subscription to the N.C.F.R.'s official organ, *Living*, are only \$2.25 per year which should be sent to E. W. Burgess, secretary, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago.

This is a rapidly growing and very active organization which attempts to apply medical, psychological, and sociological knowledge to the solution of practical problems in this very important phase of modern life.—R.B.

The Ohio Valley Sociological Society will hold its annual meeting at Columbus, on April 25-26, 1941. All sociologists in the region (western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, Kentucky and West Virginia) are urged to be present and to become members.

The Society held its usual breakfast meeting at Chicago, Dec. 28, 1940, (60 present) and discussed the program. All sociologists in the region are requested to send any suggestions they may have regarding the program to President C. R. Hoffer, Michigan State College, East Lansing, Michigan, including a description of any research they are doing which will be ready for presentation in April. This invitation is extended especially to the younger men and to all newcomers in the region.

The O.V.S.S. is noted for its fellowship and proud of it. We are particularly anxious to welcome the younger men and newcomers into this fellowship. We also cordially invite all visiting sociologists who may be around these parts on April 26-27 to attend.

Membership dues are \$1.00 a year which includes *The Ohio Valley Sociologist* published several times a year under the spicy editorship of F. E. Lumley. The secretary-treasurer is John F. Cuber, Kent State University, Kent, Ohio.—R.B.

The Public Affairs Committee has issued its fiftieth pamphlet, *Credit Unions—The People's Banks*, by Maxwell S. Stewart. It appears that the number of unions has doubled in the past five years. There are now about 2,500,000 members of credit unions in the U. S., as against 26,000,000 families with incomes of less than \$2500 who conceivably might need such credit facilities. Other pamphlets dealing with this problem are: *Credit for Consumers*, *Loan Sharks and Their Victims*, and *Debts—Good or Bad?* These all may be had at 10 cents each or less in quantity of the Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York.

Sociometry has issued as a special pamphlet the article by J. L. Moreno, "Mental Catharsis and the Psychodrama," which appeared in the Volume 3, Number 3, 1940,

issue. This is a most interesting discussion and appears to open up a new field in psychotherapy. If the results are as dramatic and therapeutic as the article suggests, and if such relief is permanent, the psychodrama should become standard treatment for certain classes of cases. It also has very interesting theoretical implications which should appeal to social psychologists, psychoanalysts, and sociologists.—R.B.

The Southern Conference on Tomorrow's Children held its second annual session at Chapel Hill and Durham, N. C., on Dec. 5-6-7, 1940. Sixteen papers were read, seven of them by sociologists. William E. Cole, of the University of Tennessee, was executive chairman of the Conference.

The Twentieth Century Fund has just issued a preliminary report of the findings of its Committee on Labor Policy under the Defense Program. Lloyd G. Reynolds of Johns Hopkins is head of the research staff. They conclude, tentatively, there will be an increase in employment of around six millions by the fall of 1942 and that the available labor supply in June 1940 was from six to eight millions. There will be marked labor shortages, however, in many of the technical vocations essential to the defense program. This suggests a comprehensive training and allocating program, which, to some extent, is already under way. It also points to the further disintegration of trade unionism because of increasing division of labor. This might suggest that industrial unionism will develop further, though the report merely mentions the . . . "desirability of having both labor and employers represented on all planning agencies by qualified and interested personnel," without mentioning what kind of labor organization would make this possible. The Fund recently issued *Housing for Defense* by Miles L. Colean.—R.B.

U. S. Public Health Service. In the Nov. 8, 1940, issue of *Public Health Reports* there is an interesting report on the "Teaching of Social Medicine in Liberal Arts Colleges and Universities." It is based on a sample of 234 schools (about one-third of the total). Of these, 177 replied. There is also an interesting report of accidents in urban homes as shown by the National Health Survey and the regular reports on the prevalence of disease. This issue may be had on request but regular subscription is \$2.50 per year.

Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare is making an extensive survey of juvenile delinquency under the supervision of Morris G. Caldwell and Lloyd V. Ballard. By Nov. 20, 1940, the data had been collected in 46 counties, a total of over 5000 cases. This involved the completion of four schedules dealing with Individual Data, Methods of Treatment, Community Resources, and Community Disorganization. It is planned to supplement the statistical data by intensive case studies, both of delinquent persons and communities. The data are being collected in such a way that they will be useful for scientific purposes as well as helpful in a practical attack upon the problem which at present costs the counties and state very large sums directly, as well as still greater sums later when many of the delinquents become serious and repeating criminals. The policy of the Department under the leadership of Frank C. Klode, Director, and his able divisional staff, is to emphasize prevention and remedial treatment more than has been done in the past. If the plan succeeds, the state will not only save money but will reap a much greater reward indirectly in the improvement of its citizenry and community life.

NEWS FROM COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. M. N. Chatterjee is much interested in what contributions sociologists and other social scientists may make with reference to the war and our own defense program. He believes that social scientists should be studying these matters so as to provide whatever knowledge they can in order that the best solution of the problems now facing the world may be worked out. Those who are similarly interested are invited to correspond with him.—R.B.

Ashland College. The Department has completed a survey of the Negro population in Mansfield. Twelve different schedules were used dealing with family life, recreation, health, employment, etc. It is similar to the Hill Region of Pittsburgh survey.

E. E. Jacobs is the author of a chapter on the "Biological Influence" in an outcoming sociology book, *An Introductory Sociology*, some twenty authors cooperating.

Bennington College. George A. Lundberg has been elected editor-in-chief of *Sociometry*. On the new editorial board are John Dewey and Franz Boas.

Butler University. The department has added Wilbur Brookover to its staff. Mr. Brookover will soon receive his doctor's degree from the University of Wisconsin, where he received the A.M. degree.

The department last spring conducted a religious survey of Speedway City, Indianapolis, for the Indianapolis Church Federation.

University of California at Los Angeles. Constantine Panunzio was named by the New York World's Fair as one of six hundred immigrant Americans who "have made outstanding contributions to American culture." These names were inscribed on twenty-one panels, each one representing a field of achievement, and placed in a special pavilion at the Fair. Mr. Panunzio was one of the three sociologists selected, P. A. Sorokin of Harvard, and E. A. Steiner, of Grinnell College, being the other two.—R.B.

University of Chicago. Ernest W. Burgess has resigned as editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Herbert Blumer, associate editor for the past four years, has become editor.

Louis Wirth has been promoted from associate professor to professor of sociology. He has also been appointed associate dean of the Division of Social Sciences.

The American Book Company has published R. Clyde White's *Administration of Public Welfare*.

University of Cincinnati. Appleton-Century issued in October a new volume entitled *Contemporary Social Theory*, edited by Barnes and Becker. This is a symposium by various sociologists on selected divisions of sociological theory. Chapter 3, entitled "The Conceptual Approach to Sociology" is by Earle Eubank; Chapter 8, entitled "The Development of Human Ecology in Sociology" is by James A. Quinn.

G. G. Carlson has just completed a two years' task of classifying over 100,000 archaeological specimens and artifacts for the Cincinnati Art Museum, representing a collection accumulated over the past fifty years. The task was accomplished under a special classification devised by Mrs. Carlson who was a graduate student and assistant in the department of anthropology at the University of Michigan. The task was carried out with a staff of over forty WPA workers and was rated first honors in its class of projects under the WPA for this region.

Miss Lois Elliott is just completing the direction of a WPA project, for which an appropriation of \$30,512 was made, carried out under the department of sociology. The project has been engaged in collecting statistical data for Cincinnati since the beginning of the century, upon births, deaths, marriages, divorces, building construction and demolitions, and general shifting of population. This material, when coordinated with the census tract data of 1930 and 1940 will give a basis upon which various social trends can be worked out for this city.

Cincinnati Population Characteristics by Census Tracts for 1930 and 1935, by James A. Quinn, Earle Eubank, and Lois Elliott, was brought out in February, 1940, of this year. This is one of a series of Ohio Population Studies being published by the Bureau of Business Research of Ohio State University.

University of Illinois. Arthur Vincent Houghton, assistant in the department of sociology at the University of Illinois, died on October 19, 1940, in Urbana at the age of forty-three. Mr. Houghton, who received his A.B. and M.S. degrees from the University of Illinois, had been teaching in the department for the last ten years. At the time of his death, he was making a study of an Old Order Amish community near Urbana.

The Columbia University Press has published *The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge* by Florian Znaniecki of this department. D. R. Taft has completed a volume on criminology which will be published in the spring by the Macmillan Company.

During the year 1940-41, Maurice T. Price is serving as visiting lecturer in sociology. During the first semester W. R. Tylor is on sabbatical leave of absence.

J. E. Hulett, Jr., who has been on leave working for the federal government, has rejoined the department with the rank of associate.

Robert W. Janes has been appointed as an assistant in sociology.

Chalmers S. Wooley has been appointed research assistant in sociology.

In May, 1940, J. W. Albig was appointed chairman of the department.

University of Iowa. John Biesanz has accepted a position at the State Teachers College, Winona, Minnesota, as a successor to R. B. Tozier. Mr. Biesanz spent the year, 1938-39, in Europe collecting data for his dissertation on Youth Hostels.

John Gould and Charles D. Roberts have been appointed to part-time instructorships in sociology. Mr. Gould was formerly a graduate student in sociology at the University of Kansas. Mr. Roberts was a graduate student at Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.

University of Michigan. Robert C. Angell has been named chairman of the department of sociology to succeed the late Roderick D. McKenzie.

Arthur E. Wood returned in September, 1940, following a semester's leave of absence and a summer of teaching at the University of Washington.

Lester E. Hewitt, Werner S. Landecker, and Gilbert A. Sanford have been appointed teaching fellows in sociology, and are in charge of discussion sections of the introductory course.

Richard C. Fuller was elected president of the Michigan Sociological Society at the annual meeting, held November 1, 1940, in Hillsdale.

L. L. Bernard, of Washington University, is in residence the second semester as visiting professor.

Middlesex University, Boston, Mass. George Devereux has been appointed assistant professor of anthropology and sociology. Mr. Devereux went to Middlesex in the fall of 1940 to build up the work in the social sciences. Until then, no courses had been offered in this field.—R.B.

University of Minnesota. Raymond F. Sletto has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

New York University. During the absence of E. Adamson Hoebel, who is away on a Social Science Research Council Fellowship, Leo Srole will act as visiting lecturer in anthropology and sociology. At Harvard, Dr. Srole was associated with W. Lloyd Warner's, *Yankee City* investigation, soon to be published. As research associate at the University of Chicago, he conducted a year's field study of the social organization of the Winnebago Indians.

Northwestern University. Mrs. Ada E. Sheffield, of Cambridge, Mass., represented the Society at the inauguration of President Franklyn Bliss Snyder.

Arthur J. Todd has completed revision of the final volume of the Chicago Recreation Survey, *Findings and Recommendations*.

The J. B. Lippincott Company has announced the early publication of E. R. Mowrer's *Disorganization: Personal and Social*. Alfred A. Knopf has published *The Economic Life of Primitive People*, by Melville J. Herskovitz.

Oberlin College. The third edition of N. L. Sims' *Elements of Rural Sociology* was published by T. Y. Crowell Company in July, 1940. This edition is virtually a new book since it was largely rewritten and reset.

Ohio Wesleyan University. Byron Fox is now in charge of the Ohio NYA organization, with Akron for his headquarters and with several counties under his direction. His position was filled by Antonin Obrdlik, recently of Hiram College. He holds the Ph.D. degree in sociology and government from Masaryk University, Czechoslovakia. He was a fellow of the French Government at the Sorbonne and the University of Strasbourg;

a fellow under the Rockefeller Foundation at Chicago, Columbia, and Harvard, at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and at the University of Geneva.

University of Omaha. Zora Lasch has become assistant instructor in sociology.

University of Pennsylvania. Mrs. Elinor Boll has been appointed research assistant in the William T. Carter Child Foundation. She is working with J. H. S. Bossard, director of the Foundation, in a classification of family situations, with special reference to child problems.

"Children in a Depression Decade" is the title of the November, 1940, issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. This issue consists of contributions by sociologists and social workers, James H. S. Bossard, editor.

University of Toledo. C. J. Bushnell has just had printed for use in his classes a book entitled, *Social Progress and Social Trends Today*, with special reference to the United States. It has sixteen chapters and 550 pages.

University of Virginia. A. A. Rogers is compiling a volume on the family and family life in Virginia during the colonial period. He will be very grateful for suggestions as to sources, points of emphasis, organization of the project, etc., from anyone who is interested in this field. He is particularly anxious to add to his collection of diaries, letters, and source materials dealing with the family practices of the "common people" of all classes. He feels that most such studies heretofore have been overweighted with information relative to the high status classes.

His address is Box 1041, University Station, Charlottesville, Va.—R.B.

Washington University. Dinko Tomasic, professor of sociology at the University of Zagreb in Yugoslavia, now on leave of absence in this country, will teach during the second semester at Washington University.

L. L. Bernard has been granted a leave of absence for this semester to take up his duties as visiting professor at the University of Michigan.

University of Washington. In the fall of 1940, the department of sociology, along with the departments of history, political science, and geography, moved into their new quarters in the recently completed Social Science Building. Although the present plant of the department of sociology is not as yet fully staffed and equipped, every provision has been made in the building plans for the possible future development of a Research Institute. Almost all of the first floor of the building is devoted to the research facilities and offices of the department of sociology. These facilities include (1) a demonstration room for classes in statistics and methods of social research; (2) an exhibit hall for the display of maps, graphs, pictures and models; (3) a drafting room for drawing, coloring, and finishing maps, charts, and pictures; (4) an atelier for sketching, computing, and working out details of more advanced research studies; (5) a laboratory for classes in social statistics and (6) a filing room and shop for punching, sorting, and tabulating data.

When the Research Institute is fully developed it will serve a four-fold purpose. First, it will be an impartial fact-finding and fact-interpreting agency. The Institute will sponsor and conduct research of social conditions in the Northwest Region. Secondly, it will serve as the largest depository of social data in the Northwest Region. Thirdly, through its facilities and staff, it will serve as a training center in scientific social research for graduate students, administrators, and professional social scientists. Fourthly, the Institute will perform an important educational function by publishing reports, bulletins, and monographs embodying the results of significant investigations, and also by organizing exhibits, lectures, and discussions bearing upon local and regional problems.

College of William and Mary. C T. Krassovsky taught as professor of sociology and social research in the Richmond School of Social Work and the Richmond Professional Institute during the second semester of 1939-40 and the first semester of 1940-41.

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HOWARD BECKER AND THOMAS C. MCCORMICK

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The Social Role of the Man of Knowledge. By FLORIAN ZNANIECKI. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 212. \$2.50.

Florian Znaniecki is in many respects the most distinguished exponent of sociology as a special rather than an encyclopedic social science. In a remarkable series of books, he has for some twenty years consistently demonstrated the *special* contributions of sociology to the analysis of human interaction and culture. These books evidence a notable theoretical integration which derives not from dogmatic convictions but from the exploration of new ranges of data guided by a conceptual framework which has proved conspicuously useful. It is peculiarly fitting that Znaniecki's latest volume in this series, the Julius Beer Foundation Lectures at Columbia University, should deal with the sociology of the scientist, for until September 1939, Poland was the home of *Nauka Polska* and of *Organon*, journals devoted exclusively to the "science of science," i.e., the psychology, sociology, history, and philosophy of science.

Znaniecki sets himself two main types of problems in this study of specialists in knowledge. (Throughout this book, the terms scientist, savant, and man of knowledge are used synonymously and broadly to designate such specialists.) The first of these problems is taxonomic: what is the composition and structure of the various types of scientists' social roles; what are their interrelations; their lines of development? Secondly, how, if at all, are the systems of knowledge and methods of savants influenced by the

normative patterns which define their behavior in a social order? The very formulation of these questions is clear evidence that Znaniecki has not confused problems in the sociology of knowledge with a sociological theory of knowledge, that is, with a special epistemology. This is a study in substantive *Wissenssoziologie*, not an essay on the foundations of valid knowledge.

Znaniecki conceives a social role as a dynamic social system involving four interacting components: (1) the *social circle*: a set of persons who interact with the actor and estimate his performance (*i.e.*, the effective audience); (2) the actor's *self*: the physical and psychological characteristics attributed to him by virtue of his position; (3) the actor's *social status*: the permissions and immunities assigned to him as inherent in his position; (4) the actor's *social functions*: his contributions to his social circle. This paradigm defines the minimal elements which must be examined in the systematic comparison of social roles.

A scant outline of Znaniecki's typology of scientists' roles will not, of course, set forth the analytical uses to which this typology is put. It will, however, indicate the classificatory framework within which his analyses are expressed. Znaniecki's reconstructions of the presumable lines of development of one role into another are not included in this outline.

TYPES OF SOCIAL ROLES OF MEN OF KNOWLEDGE

A. TECHNOLOGICAL ADVISERS

1. *Technological expert*: the diagnostician who defines the relevant data in the situation, their essential components and interrelations and the theoretic foundations for planned collective tasks; he performs the "staff" or advisory function.
2. *Technological leader*: the executive-director who devises the plan and selects the instrumentalities for its execution on the basis of a complex of practically-oriented, heterogeneous knowledge.

B. SAGES¹ (provide intellectual justification of collective tendencies of their party, sect, stratum.)

	Apologists for existing tendencies	Idealists with norms not contained in the existing order or in the opposition-party
1. <i>Conservative</i> :	(a) "Standpatter"	(b) Meliorist
2. <i>Novationist</i> :	(a) Oppositionist	(b) Revolutionary

C. SCHOLARS (*i.e.*, Schoolmen)

1. *Sacred scholar*: perpetuates sacred truths through exact and faithful reproduction of their symbolic expressions; he is charged with the maintenance

¹ Attention should be called to the instructive comparison between these roles and Mannheim's concepts of ideologists and utopianists. The four-fold table and resultant types, supplied by the reviewer, are clearly implicit in Znaniecki's text (pp. 72-77).

of a self-contained, stable, unchallengeable, sacred system of unchanging truths.

2. *Secular scholar*: with the following subtypes:
 - (a) *discoverer of truth*: initiates a "school of thought" with a claim to "absolute truth" validated by the certainty of rational evidence.
 - (b) *systematizer*: tests and organizes the total existing knowledge in certain fields into a coherent system by means of deduction from the self-evident first principles established by the discoverer.
 - (c) *contributor*: furnishes new findings which are implicitly or explicitly expected to furnish new proof that experience accords with the master's system; revises "unsatisfactory" inductive evidence until it is so integrated or is "justifiably" rejected.
 - (d) *fighter for truth*: ensures the logical victory of one school over another by convincing scholars in a polemical situation that his school has a truth-claim validated by rationalistic evidence. (Differs from tendentious partisan sage by confining polemics to a closed arena accessible only to those who hold truth as dominant value.)
 - (e) *disseminator of knowledge*
 - (1) *popularizer*: cultivates amateur interests among adults, thus aiding popular support of learning, especially in democratized society.
 - (2) *educating teacher*: imparts theoretic knowledge to youth as part of their non-occupational education.

D. CREATORS OF KNOWLEDGE (EXPLORERS)

1. *Discoverer of facts (fact-finder)*: discovers hitherto unknown and unanticipated empirical data, largely as a basis for modifications in existing systems of knowledge.
2. *Discoverer of problems (inductive theorist)*: discovers new and unforeseen theoretic problems which are to be solved by new theoretical constructions.

It should be noted at once that this is a classification of social *roles* and not of persons, and that individual men of knowledge may incorporate several of these analytically distinguishable roles. A further development of Znaniecki's analysis would lead to a statement of the circumstances under which shifts from one role to another occur.

Znaniecki skilfully traces a variety of relations between the components of these classified roles; relations between role-definitions and types of knowledge cultivated; types of knowledge and bases of positive estimation of the scientist by members of the society; normative role-definitions and attitudes toward practical and theoretical knowledge; etc. These relations are examined genetically and functionally. A brief review cannot even list these relations, but one or two instances will serve to illustrate the systematic findings.

A convincing demonstration of the value of Znaniecki's approach is found in his suggestive though brief resume of the various attitudes toward "new unanticipated facts" of those who perform different intellectual roles. It should be noted that *these divers attitudes can be "understood" (or "derived") from the particular role-systems in which the men of knowledge participate*; it is, in other words, an analysis of the ways in which various social structures exert pressures for the adoption of certain attitudes toward new empirical data. The *specialized interest* in the finding of new facts is con-

strued as a revolt against established systems of thought which have persisted largely because they have not been confronted with fresh stubborn facts. Later, to be sure, even this "rebellious" activity becomes institutionalized, but it arises initially in opposition to established and vested intellectual systems. The technological leader regards genuinely new facts with suspicion, for they may destroy belief in the rationality of his established plans, or show the inefficiency of his plans, or disclose undesirable consequences of his program. New facts within the compass of his activity threaten his status. The technological expert, under the control of the leader, is circumscribed in new fact-finding lest he discover facts which are unwelcome to the powers that be. (See, for example, the suppression of new but "unwanted" inventions.) The sage, with his predetermined conclusions, has no use for the impartial observer of new facts which might embarrass his tendentious views. Scholars have positive or negative attitudes toward genuinely new facts, depending upon the extent to which the schools' system is established: in the initial stages new facts are at least acceptable, but once the system is fully formulated the intellectual commitment of the school precludes a favorable attitude toward novel findings. Thus, "a discoverer of facts, freely roaming in search of the unexpected, has no place in a milieu of scientists with well-regulated traditional roles." Znaniecki provides a pioneering analysis of the kind of intellectual neophobia which Pareto largely treated as given rather than problematical.

In similar fashion, Znaniecki shows how rivalry between schools of sacred thought leads to secularization. The most general theorem holds that conflict, as a type of social interaction, leads to the partial secularization of sacred knowledge in at least three ways. First, the usual appeal to sacred authority cannot function in the conflict situation, inasmuch as the rival schools either accept different sacred traditions or interpret the same tradition diversely. "Rational analysis" is adopted as an impartial arbiter. Secondly, members of the out-group (non-believers) must be persuaded that their own faiths are suspect and that another faith has more to commend it. This again involves rational or pseudo-rational argument, since there is no other common unchallenged authority. Finally, the battle of the sacred schools awakens skepticism on the part of intellectual onlookers, and such skepticism must be curbed lest it subvert the authority of the sacred school among the "public." One such safeguard is again rational persuasion. A body of empirical data to which this analysis is peculiarly appropriate, though Znaniecki does not explicitly deal with it, is the situation of the contending Protestant sects during the 16th and 17th centuries. These, in the process of validating their claims to sacred authority for their conflicting views, gradually adopted an elaborate set of rationalistic and empirical bases for legitimacy.² The forces conducing to the secularization

² Cf. Richard Baxter, *Christian Directory*, London, 1825, I, 171, in a passage written in 1665: "They that believe, and know not why, or know no sufficient reason to warrant their faith, do take a fancy, or opinion, or a dream for faith." Or, Henry More, *Brief Discourse of the True Grounds of the Certainty of Faith in Point of Religion*, London, 1688, 578: "... to take away all the certainty of sense rightly circumstantiated, is to take away all the certainty of belief in the main points of our religion."

of sacred knowledge in this historical period are readily conceptualized in Znaniecki's terms. When, however, it becomes manifest that the multiplicity of schools, dogmas and power-structures precludes dominance by any one school, a *modus vivendi* is found in a doctrine of mutual toleration.

In summary, then, this little book presents a conceptual framework for organizing varied materials in one sphere of the sociology of knowledge. It contributes a rich store of hypotheses which often derive from Znaniecki's earlier work, and so have a measure of empirical confirmation at the outset. It should be said, however, as Znaniecki would doubtlessly be the first to acknowledge, that this book is simply a prolegomenon to the sociology of men of knowledge; an introduction, moreover, liable to several criticisms. It includes no systematic documentation, although it may be inferred from the text that a considerable body of empirical data was the basis for much of the work. It would have been especially desirable to include systematic evidence in the generalized account of the ways in which the various roles presumably developed from earlier structures. At present, Znaniecki's account is simply a plausible reconstruction, with all the liabilities to which such developmental schemes are subject. His leading hypothesis that these roles develop by successive differentiation is amenable to empirical test; until it is so tested it can be considered only conjectural. The value of the work would have been considerably enhanced, also, if the role-paradigm (social circle, self, status, function) had been more fully exploited in the analysis of each of the roles actually discussed. As it is, most attention is devoted to the functions of each role and not enough to the structural relations between the other components. Perhaps this is only tantamount to saying that Znaniecki's conceptions are so fertile that he has found it possible to gather only the ripest of the first-fruits. Such forthcoming empirical studies as Logan Wilson's *Academic Man* will doubtless profit by the conceptual framework which Znaniecki has built for handling such subjects. His classification is of course provisional and lends itself to necessary modifications. In short, this is a prospectus which no future student of the subject dare neglect; it is a promise of things to come and a promise which is in part its own fulfillment.

ROBERT K. MERTON

Tulane University

Essais de Sociologie. By GEORGES GURVITCH. Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey. Pp. 309.

This new book by the well-known anthropological and juridical sociologist and editor of the *Archives of Sociology of Law* introduces us to the problematic condition of French sociology. This is more or less the continuation of the positivism of August Comte and is intimately related to the secular character of the Third French Republic, that set humanity on the dais and dethroned the church, substituting the cult of humanity for that of religion. Its leader, Durkheim, glorified the "collective conscience" of society as the supreme entity and founded a new system of ethics dissociated from church, religion, and metaphysics, according to his own asser-

tion. Gurvitch presents a complete history of the development of these two creations of Durkheim's, and his work makes Marica's and similar publications look somewhat antiquated. He criticises Durkheim in three essential positions: he states that Durkheim's identification of collective conscience with Supreme Good is actually of a metaphysical nature; that from statements of facts he erroneously proceeds to draw conclusions in the sense of evaluations; and that religion cannot be derived from any form or forms of magic. Moreover, Gurvitch asserts that magic and religion were completely separate at the very beginning of human history and that some kinds of human rights are derived from religion and the others from magic. The writer of this review differs from Gurvitch in these two points of view, for magic is only one of the forms of religion, therefore the classification should be established as religion with elements of magic, and religions without those elements. So the sometimes very sagacious derivation of some kinds of human rights from religion and of the others from magic must be modified to conform to the correct classification of religions just mentioned. This endeavor of Gurvitch to derive social phenomena not only from one basic factor but from several closely connected with his own sociological system leads him to discard two earlier attempts at sociological classification, the first of which sought to establish a hierarchy of values for the different groups—also attempted by Tönnies, Scheler and others, though not by Max Weber and Wiese—while the second used only one classifying principle. Gurvitch calls his own system Pluralism. He uses eight different classifying principles which interpenetrate: as for example, activity and passivity, spontaneity and reflection. But the most novel and useful idea of his theory is the contrast of mutual interdependency and mutual interpenetration. Certainly the classification proposed and introduced by Gurvitch is not final but it should render valuable service in the current endeavor to bring system into the classification of human groups and relationships.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

World Revolutionary Propaganda: A Chicago Study. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL and DOROTHY BLUMENSTOCK. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939. Pp. xii+393+xii. \$4.50.

This book reports an extensive study of Communist Party propaganda and action in metropolitan Chicago during the years 1930-1934. Taking its approach from the quasi-Freudian standpoint of the major author, the volume describes and interprets radical revolutionary propaganda as it operated in an industrial community against the background of a measurable variation in economic well-being of the laboring population. This variation is considered to lie along a continuum from "deprivation" (e.g., unemployment and economic distress), on the one hand, to "indulgence" (e.g., jobs, work relief, and economic improvement), on the other. But as the authors amply indicate the meaning of indulgence or deprivation is a matter of social-cultural conditioning of the masses and the effectiveness of radical propaganda is at all times qualified by these long-standing value-systems.

Following two introductory chapters, one on the Russian center of world revolutionary propaganda, the other on the factual basis of change in economic conditions in Chicago, the authors take up their discussion under four major categories: the channels or media of propaganda; the chief techniques employed; the volume or amount of propaganda; and its influence or results, both positive and negative.

The principal media were public demonstrations, which were most effectively used; printed material of various sorts, chiefly foreign-language newspapers; "organizations" of many kinds, the most effective of which were "front" and "cover" groups so disguised as not to arouse latent antagonism toward the Communist Party itself. Then, too, there were certain supplementary devices, such as the Party schools, camps, the theater, the motion picture and music, especially in form of songs.

The section on techniques exposes the nature of the various slogans used. The authors state the aim of such promotional activities in these words (page 121): "By the nature of the case revolutionary propaganda seeks to turn hostility toward symbols and practices which have been revered, and from which loyalty is now detached, and to attach loyalty to new symbols and practices which may previously have been abhorred." There are two chapters describing the efficient manner in which the Communist leaders organized public demonstrations against conditions, with illustrative instances of the unemployment demonstration in 1930, those against evictions in 1931, against reducing relief aids in 1932, the May Day demonstration in 1933, and the Lenin memorial in 1934.

The most pedestrian section deals with the volume of propaganda. The task of measuring the amount of promotional activity is extremely difficult and the authors did as well as the data permitted in evolving certain rough indexes of propaganda in terms of time, attention-value, and money expended.

The final section in five chapters on the influences of the radical propaganda is a most competent analysis of some of the major factors involved in this type of promotional enterprise. In the discussion of skill, the authors point out the dilemma faced by the Communists in their necessary choice between the propagation of highly distinctive symbols as against those which are obviously more adapted to the particular social-cultural milieu of the time and place. All too frequently the effectiveness of their campaigns were lost due to bad orientation to the larger issues. In detailed manipulation of symbols and situations the Communist leaders were well schooled. Too often, however, their programs broke down because of a certain lack of flexibility to the concrete situation. While many features of the depression facilitated the momentary success of the Communist movement too much attention was given to the unemployed and their immediate problems and not enough to the larger body of workers and potential sympathizers who were not on relief. Too much of the human material was of "unstable" neurotic sort to furnish a sound basis for building an American Communist Party.

Three aspects of American cultural life tended to restrict the effectiveness

of the Communist movement in Chicago. The first was the failure to reckon with the strong nationalism latent among the working masses. The second was the failure to handle properly the "individualistic pattern of American life." Frequently the rigidity of the Party pronouncements and disciplinary tactics defeated the program aimed at offsetting the power of these deep-seated values. Finally while the revolutionary propaganda appears to have enhanced personal insecurities and deflected deference from the economic *status quo*, it failed to capture the emotional drive toward the revolution. For example, the Communists helped to swing workers' identification with the business-man's value system toward that of the New Deal. They failed to capitalize on the very unrest about which they vocalized and demonstrated. Whatever one may say about the stages in revolution generally, it is evident that in this instance "reform" not "revolution" served to reduce anxieties by direct relief, work relief, and other devices. Certainly the Communist propaganda did not effect any basic change in the "established patterns," economic or political. The very sectarianism which arose with the world revolutionary movement during World War I, ended—as Lasswell has indicated here and elsewhere—in a much more limited aim. The Communist revolution rapidly became the Russian revolution, and recent events have shown a more definite shift toward an out-and-out Russian nationalism.

If one were to draw lessons from this book, they might be considered of two sorts: first, it furnishes an excellent picture of how propaganda operates with implicit suggestions to any would-be worker in this verbal vineyard; second, it contributes to the theory of social change with particular reference to the interplay of symbol manipulation and overt action, both projected on the background of the society and culture of a particular time and place.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

The Fine Art of Propaganda: A Study of Father Coughlin's Speeches. Edited by ALFRED M. LEE and ELIZABETH B. LEE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1939. Pp. xi + 140. \$1.50.

Das Bild als Waffe: Die französische Bildpropaganda im Weltkrieg. By LUDWIG SCHULTE STRATHAUS. Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1938. Pp. 186. RM 6.

The Lee volume, under the guise of being an objective study of Coughlin's radio programs and using the descriptive categories of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis under whose sponsorship the work was done, turns out to be not an objective account but a case of special pleading and propaganda itself. The book, in short, is a good illustration of "the fine art of propaganda" where by dressing up a discussion in the acceptable language of science, it is possible to launch out on a line of promotion against a movement which is evidently considered by the sponsors as evil. As a matter of fact the treatment is not so much an analytical one, say in the manner of Lasswell's investigations, as it is a descriptive presentation of various devices

of emotional persuasion and appeal. The "analysis," moreover, is full of loaded words rather than the traditional terminology of more sober treatment: "This line-up is so absurd that it scarcely requires analysis" (p. 55). "It [reference to the priest's discussion of the Jews in Europe] indicates the unfair trickery . . ." (p. 62). And note the author's own device in linking Coughlin and Hitler on page 109. Such expressions as "intemperate oratory" (p. 70), and of "fair and unfair application" of the principles of propaganda (pp. 71, 73, 98, 104, 109), are scattered throughout the book.

It seems to this reviewer that two effects may flow from such a work. First, to the observing reader it is obviously not an objective treatment but a tract, hence it enhances the popular disregard for so-called social science. Second, for the less wary it serves as propaganda of effective sort since its appearance of impartiality provides an efficient vehicle for what amounts to counter-propaganda against a contemporary leader. Whether such effects are "good" for the cause of science is a matter, of course, of varied judgment.

The volume by Strathaus is a doctor's thesis written under the direction of Professor Karl d'Estier at Munich and the work was done prior to December 1935. The author has undertaken to describe the propaganda use of cartoons by the French during the first World War. After a cursory introduction on the place of pictorial appeals in war propaganda with particular reference to the Allies, Strathaus gives a running account of the various public media of these materials, such as the newspaper, the comic periodical, and the placard. This is followed by a series of brief sketches on the chief contributors to this pictorial material: Forain, Faivre, Willette, Hermann-Paul, Leandre, Steinlein, and lesser persons from France, and Raemaekers and some others from neutral countries. The chapter on the content of the cartoons divides the work between that directed toward the internal or home-front, and that toward the enemy or neutrals. The final chapter is an attempt to evaluate the effectiveness of the French pictorial propaganda. In this discussion Strathaus points out, as have other investigators, the failure of the German officialdom and of public commentators to understand the effectiveness of this sort of material. Apparently it took the Nazis to teach the Germans some of the most elementary lessons in the art of propaganda.

KIMBALL YOUNG

Queens College

From Marx to Stalin; A Critique of Communism. By JAMES EDWARD LE-ROSSIGNOL. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1940. Pp. x+442. \$3.00.

The Dynamics of War and Revolution. By LAWRENCE DENNIS. New York: The Weekly Foreign Letter 1940. Pp. xxxi+259. \$3.00.

Professor LeRossignol's book is a popularly styled outline and summary of the doctrines and practices of communism and socialism and of the major criticisms which have been and may be directed at the socialist viewpoint. The study traces the development of socialist philosophy from its sources to

its present-day expression in the ideology of the Third International. Its major purpose is the explanation and critical appraisal of the basic theories and concepts of socialism. Accordingly, detailed consideration is given to the theory of dialectics and that of historical materialism, to the labor theory of value, to the socialist conclusions that capitalistic crises must inevitably recur, that capitalism will ultimately collapse because of its internal stresses, and to the communist conception of the classless commonwealth.

In several respects, the author's approach is not particularly distinctive. However, he claims little originality in either exposition or criticism. He leans heavily throughout upon numerous quotations from exponents and critics of the communist viewpoint. Notes and references are extensive. The special virtues of this presentation are its balance, its perspective, its carefully reasoned interpretation of historic and modern writers, its penetrating appreciation of the wide range of viewpoints, its effective organization, its interesting style. The book has value both for students and for lay readers who wish to understand the strengths and weaknesses of socialist doctrine and practice.

The thesis of the Dennis book may be briefly summarized. The author holds that political democracy and private capitalism are insoluble. They must stand or fall together. Further, private capitalism can exist only in a world of expanding frontiers and increasing populations. These conditions, he concludes, are forever gone, so far as most of the world is concerned. Hence private capitalism and its political counterpart, parliamentary democracy, are "dying of pernicious anemia." The twilight of democracy was apparent in the first World War. It became increasingly obvious as the German Republic fell and as socialist capitalism spread over Russia, Italy and Germany. The present war will end democracy in Europe and, if the United States becomes involved, in this country as well. In any case, this country can not long escape the inevitable.

As proof of the thesis that the democratic system cannot cope with the conditions of a "mature" economy, the author repeatedly refers to the high levels of unemployment prevailing in the United States throughout the past decade. This situation, he is convinced, cannot be remedied within the framework of the existing economy, mainly because the masses cannot comprehend or appreciate the need for adjustments that would be necessary to fit a democracy for effective participation in the modern world. The masses, he insists, always react irrationally and selfishly, and they can be satisfied with nothing short of continued revolution. Business men, he charges, have little more perspective than the rank and file of their employees.

The author's style is epigrammatic, clever, and stimulating. Thinking is generally orderly, logical. If the author's convictions and assumptions are accepted as data, most of his conclusions are inescapable. The correctness of many of these assumptions can be demonstrated, however, only with the passage of time. Meanwhile, the author may properly be criticized for the manner in which he dismisses opposing contentions with sarcasm rather than argument or merely charges those whose opinions he dislikes with intellectual dishonesty. For a book that emphasizes a long-term, over-all

perspective as the essential need of the times, there are serious shortcomings in this volume. Thus real perspective would note the growing consciousness, in the democracies, of the need for intelligent marketing of labor's services. Similarly, it would recognize the possibility that intelligent leadership in a democracy may mobilize personal and physical resources as effectively as a dictatorship.

DALE YODER

University of Minnesota

Diderot, Interpreter of Nature: Selected Writings. Translated by JEAN STEWART and JONATHAN KEMP. Edited and with an introduction by Jonathan Kemp. New York, 1938. International Publishers. \$2.50

The interest in the development of the philosophical thought of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels from Hegelianism to the system of what is now known as Marxism or dialectical materialism is of long standing. Every author who has written on the philosophy of Marxism has been concerned to treat of those thinkers who were either a direct living stimulus at one stage of Marx's and Engels' development, and those thinkers who were historical predecessors. The former are Feuerbach and the entire range of German post-Hegelians who have been very competently analyzed in relation to Marx's thought in Sidney Hook's book. The latter group numbers, among others, the materialist philosophers of the French Revolution, some of whom are included in the series of essays in the history of materialism by George Plekhanoff translated and published a few years ago in England. The Frenchmen were that part of the materialist tradition in philosophy especially well-known to Marx and Engels. Not the least among them was Denis Diderot. Marx's earliest interest in the materialists dates back to his doctoral dissertation on the difference between the Democritean and Epicurean philosophies of nature.

Among the dogmatic Marxists, this preoccupation with the development and background of Marxist materialism has resulted in permitting a historical reputation to men great in their own right only in so far as they can be shown to have foreseen Marx's theses or to have led him on to his own systematization. Antiquarianism is an ideological evil, but no less an evil is this dispatching of profound thinkers by calling their ideas "an embryonic dialectical materialism," as Mr. Kemp calls Diderot's. In his introduction and footnotes, Mr. Kemp reiterates that Diderot was a believer in the dialectical character of nature. Engels' own exposition of the dialectics of nature has been given a searching analysis by Hook in an article in the *Marxist Quarterly* and it does not hold up well. The thesis that nature is dialectical is really a mistaking of the dialectics of the logic of natural science for the brute data of the natural world itself. To impute an erroneous stand of Engels to Diderot, who never held it, is to do injustice to the latter and to underestimate the former by blind allegiance instead of dialectical criticism. One does greater service to a learned teacher, even a revolutionary teacher, by advancing the implications of his thought than by merely parroting his words. Diderot with remarkable prescience understood that nature is a

developing datum, changing and progressing. But development is not synonymous with dialectic any more than thought is synonymous with physical matter. Thought may be material but it is material *sui generis*.

The excerpts from Diderot's writings included in the present volume are fragmentary and disconnected and might better have been arranged systematically, so that the various phases of Diderot's thought were easily gathered by the reader. Diderot was not a systematic thinker and linking him with the great materialist tradition leading up to Marxism requires more than excerpting his later writings. Like all encyclopedists of every age, Diderot had brilliant insights into many fields of knowledge but contributed a system of thought to none of them.

It is puerile to take some isolated comment of Diderot and try to show how it agrees with some fundamental Marxist statement, as if a similarity of expression denoted an identity of meaning, or that a quotation from Marx puts a papal imprimatur upon what Diderot may have said in some other connection. For example, in *Rameau's Nephew* (a work which Marx, according to his biographer, Franz Mehring, thought was sheer genius), Diderot has the nephew say in the dialogue: "There's no longer any such thing as one's country. From one pole to the other I can see only tyrants and slaves." To this Mr. Kemp footnotes: "Cf. 'The workingmen have no country' (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, 1848, p. 28)."

This would merely be amusing, like a college sophomore striving for learning by footnoting an essay on Shakespeare by quoting him as having said: "Hello!", if it were not part of an entire tendency of Marxist dogmatism and of proof by quotation and authority masking as Marxist analysis and scientific procedure. Using Marx and Engels as a philosophical father-substitute for science is completely contrary to the doctrines of the two men in assuming that the human race has for fifty years been unable to advance scientific thought in nature, logic, and society. Such an assumption would make the fundamental thesis of Marxism, development and change through dialectical laws, a ludicrous joke, for it would be applicable to all except Marx and Engels, and the founders of a system would be the very ones to disprove its essential feature. If Diderot suffers at Mr. Kemp's hands in the introduction and footnotes, he may have the slight posthumous consolation that Marx is made to suffer more, for a diagnosis of misinterpretation is far less painful than a tortured allegiance.

GEORGE SIMPSON

Queens College

Marxian Economic Theory. By WILLIAM J. BLAKE. New York: Cordon Company, 1939. Pp. viii+746. \$2.50.

The analysis and review of Marxian economic theory and criticism by Blake represent a most ambitious attempt to cover a body of literature, at once both scholarly and polemical. The first section of the work deals with the historical forces that brought forth Marxian theory, the second is devoted to a Marxian analysis of the contemporary capitalistic economy, while the third section deals with various attacks on Marxian economic

theory, beginning with the famous attack of Böhm-Bawerk and continuing down to the present. The final section of the book treats of the differences between dialectical materialism and historical materialism. There follows the most extensive bibliography on Marxism known to the reviewer, a series of appendices, and a socialist chronology of events from the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 to the year 1936, which marked the growth of the Popular Front movement in several European countries.

In view of the obvious impossibility of writing a lengthy article as adequate criticism of this work, it will be remarked here that: (a) the treatment of the various phases of Marxian economic theory errs on the side of extensive rather than intensive analysis; (b) the mixture of unrelated opinion and coy efforts at humor somewhat vitiates the thorough examination of various aspects of economic theory; and (c) the style of the book is too staccato and the treatment too episodic for such an involved body of theory. Frequently it is impossible to differentiate between the author's discussion of some point of theory advanced by another writer and his own views on this item. Better organization of the vast array of materials in this work would have enhanced the value of this book to students of Marxian economic and social theory. It has a considerable value as a guide to the literature, and encompasses the most extensive treatment in English of this important body of economic theory.

JAMES H. BARNETT

University of Connecticut

The Roman Revolution. By RONALD SYME. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xii + 568. \$7.00.

An adequate history of the Augustan age is still to be written. To make sense of the incredibly complicated clash of forces and interests, the consequent *melée* of intrigues unloosed by Caesar's crossing of the Rubicon, is a task of great difficulty. And yet it is only in the light of these contending interests and forces that the constitutional settlements of Augustus can be appreciated and his work be brought into proper focus.

One turns to Syme's book, therefore, with a very considerable sense of excitement. The author proclaims it as his task to study not so much "the personality and acts of Augustus" as "his adherents and partisans." He wishes to "discover the resources and devices by which a revolutionary leader arose in civil strife, usurped power for himself and his faction, transformed a faction into a national party, and a torn and distracted land into a nation with a stable and enduring government." He rejects what he calls the partisan and pragmatic interpretation of history which admires Augustus simply because he was successful. The sense of historical inevitability he struggles to put away from him. The success of Augustus can only be explained in terms of the interests he represents.

Syme's book is a work of very great erudition. He shows a commendable prosopographical mastery and an acquaintance with the minor figures of a confused period. Yet it must be confessed that the total impact of the book in terms of its professed aims is somewhat disappointing. The author, al-

most in spite of himself, tends to fall back time and again into the empty abstractions of political theory. "In the beginning kings ruled Rome, and in the end, as was fated, it came round to monarchy again." No appreciation here of the very real, important, and crucial differences in actual social content between the two institutions. Even more serious is the tendency to fall back into the personalized treatment that the author explicitly rejects. "The lust of power, that prime infirmity of the Roman noble, impelled him to devious paths and finally to dangerous elevations." These two tendencies to abstract thinking and personalized history lead to a serious confusion of the real points at issue. Consider his judgment of Julius Caesar—"a Sulla but for *clementia*, a Gracchus but lacking a revolutionary programme." Such a sentence entirely obscures the very real social, economic, and political grounds for conflict in the first century B.C. and reduces the whole issue between the *populares* and the *optimates* to a pure question of personal prestige. It makes revolution and counter-revolution into the same thing.

Moreover, it is startling, to say the least, to find that an author who recognizes and describes so many of the real issues at stake, who can write crisp and penetrating sentences (like "Liberty and the laws are high-sounding words. They will often be rendered on a cool estimate as privilege and vested interest," or "The tragedies of history do not arise from the conflict of conventional right and wrong") should feel compelled to pass so many moral judgments. "Caesar's adherents were a ghastly and disgusting rabble." "Rome and the army were degenerate and Caesarian, the better cause and the best men, the brave and the loyal had perished." In rejecting the pragmatic interpretation of history and the tendency to admire success for its own sake, the author comes perilously near to an emotional identification with the older oligarchy. The author is so splendidly familiar with the details of cross-purposes and intrigues that he sometimes loses the sense of historical pattern. This is in a sense the weakness of his strength. He even goes out of his way to deny that there is any historical pattern involved. "Civil war might cut across families; as this was a contest neither of principle or class. . . ." But a few pages later he suggests just as categorically that the victorious partisans of Caesar did represent a class (and hence a principle): "They represented not regions but a class in society and a party in politics." Or again, "Not a mere faction of the nobility had been defeated but a whole class. The contest had been not merely political but social."

There was, as the author recognizes in his clearest moments, a concrete issue at stake in the Roman revolution. Behind the kaleidoscopic maneuvering of different factions—the landed aristocracy and the old families, the various sections of the equestrian class, publicans, contractors, usurers, business men and merchants, the Italian peasantry and the urban proletariat—there lurks the basic conflict of two economic systems. There is confusion, no doubt, on the fringes; Cicero and Pompey play ambiguous roles. Many members of the landed gentry go over to the new order. The tendency for the "new rich" to invest in land brings complications. And yet as one considers such contrasting figures as Cato, who represents the old,

and Oppius and Balbus, who signalize the new, it is impossible to deny that social forces and economic issues were at stake. And the victory of the Caesarian faction does admit new forces and new groups into the governing class. The ruling hierarchy as reconstituted by Augustus is at once wider and more representative of an empire than the old oligarchy of great families. To complain that it is still an oppressive class and a relatively narrow exploiting oligarchy is to demand a fundamental solution for the problems of a slave-owning society that was in the nature of the case impossible.

A. D. WINSPEAR

University of Wisconsin

Science and Politics in the Ancient World. By BENJAMIN FARRINGTON. New York: Oxford University Press, 1940. Pp. 243. \$2.50.

Professor Farrington of University College, Swansea, has written an able and fascinating book about the struggle in the ancient Greek and Roman world of scientific observation and analysis and the quest for unvarnished truth against the superstitions, religious beliefs, augurs, ceremonials, and cults carefully fostered and shrewdly manipulated by the ruling classes of the state. It is part of the story of the efforts of governing cliques, ecclesiastics, philosophers, and leaders of thought generally to enslave the mass of the people by means of "wholesome" ideas and beliefs and deliberate deceits, and to resist the ideas that make for democratic action and freedom of mind and will.

Beginning with the contrasts between the scientific explanations of the evolutionary philosophies of the revolutionary sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and the theology of Homer, he takes up next the thinkers who supported the class structure and political philosophy of the city-state, actual or ideal, in Greece, and the philosophers of the empire in Rome. He then devotes the bulk of the book to his brilliant analysis of Epicureanism as a democratic-naturalistic philosophy—a philosophy attempting, among other things, to abolish the police function of religion. In brief, the book is concerned with the interaction of natural and political philosophy.

The thought on the thesis is systematically presented, era by era, with much general analysis and criticism of other interpreters and commentators. The index is poor. This is a pity in such an excellent work, which should be read not only for its skillful handling of the thesis, but also for its many well-chosen quotations from and characterizations of the works of the Classic thinkers of Greece and Rome.

The future of science and belief is a political question. The theme is always timely; but especially so now when so many superstitions, fantasies, and cults are fostered for political ends. A militant attitude of support of the principle of the freedom of the mind dominates the book. If the Nazis conquer England, Professor Farrington will be one of the first to be liquidated.

Incidentally, the book illustrates the refreshing manner in which professors of Classics are moving from their narrow, traditional orbit of merely

literary-philosophical interest, and are presenting the Classic thinkers as contributors to the thought on the perplexing and recurrent social problems of human societies.

J. O. HERTZLER

University of Nebraska

Weltgeschichte: Völker, Männer, Ideen. By VEIT VALENTIN. Amsterdam: Albert De Lange, 1939. Pp. 543.

The author declares himself to be no sociologist, but rather a historian who does not subscribe to such one-sided historical concepts as Racism, Marxism, or Rankianism—this last being the predominating German concept, limiting history to foreign political relations and generally neglecting the history of culture and especially that of prehistoric, Asiatic and American peoples. Like Schopenhauer, he contemplates all without passion or will to change, yet clothing his ideas in the richest vocabulary of all the German historical writers, painting his word pictures with artistic intuition. The reader feels that he is participating in the historical process in the vivid way that a spectator identifies himself with the characters of a great Shakespearean tragedy. In this variety of historiography he is supreme. Nevertheless, in so glorifying him we have simultaneously indicated his limitations. According to him, historical processes would have had different results if the great men concerned had decided on different courses of action. Thus, Valentin ignores the problems of regularity, parallelism, necessity and laws in human history, as well as the point in human history where we stand today and the possibility of setting up an account of probability concerning future social development. Therefore we need another kind of historical science—the analysis of seeming entities in their different basic factors, explanation of causal relations and the synthesis of such analytical work in the form of verification of regularities by using isolating and comparative methods. Certainly that is not pure science as an aim in itself, but an auxiliary discipline—an indispensable aid, nevertheless, of sociology.

PAUL HONIGSHEIM

Michigan State College

The Politics of Democracy: American Parties in Action. By PENDLETON HERRING. New York. W. W. Norton and Co., 1940. Pp. 468. \$3.75.

The Secretary of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Harvard University here gives an admirable description of how the politics of democracy operates. The book is beautifully written and is both practical and philosophical. The author clearly recognizes that the price of peaceful adjustment in a changing society is readaptation of institutions and ideals. He analyzes the structure of our party system and examines machine control, pressure politics, propaganda, monied interests, patronage and bureaucracy. Instead of being pessimistic, he feels that these are but the reverse side of elements integral to the democratic process. In a democracy organization is essential and every group must have the right to organize. We must

expect that monied interests, special pleaders of all sorts, even gangsters will exert political pressure. Unless they did so our government would not be democratic.

The author is essentially a middle-of-the-road analyst. He avoids the extremes of conservatism or radicalism. He recognizes that politics is to a large extent bad but still he feels with all its faults it is the best mechanism mankind has ever used.

Perhaps the author accepts too easily the theory that the conflicts of politics will always result in slow progress and never cataclysmic change. History and the fate of certain European democracies indicates he may be too optimistic. Certainly he does not attempt to suggest how our society is likely to secure social justice or banish unemployment. He goes forward on the serene assumption that in a democracy the conflicts of competing interests will always bring progress.

An interesting special feature of the volume is the reproduction of nineteen historical paintings depicting the evolution of the democratic process in America.

Dr. Herring has added another to his previous valuable contributions in political science. The volume will be useful for collateral reading in the field of political sociology.

JEROME DAVIS

New School for Social Research

Kokutai: A Study of Certain Sacred and Secular Aspects of Japanese Nationalism. By JOHN PAUL REED. Chicago: The University of Chicago Libraries, 1940. Pp. ii+274. (Price not given. Privately distributed.)

Social Solidarity Among the Japanese in Seattle. University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Volume II, No. 2, Pp. 57-130. By SHOTARO FRANK MIYAMOTO. Seattle: University of Washington, 1939. Pp. vii+73. 7 tables, 4 graphs. \$0.75.

Various groups have been disorganized because of contacts with Western civilization. Japan, too, felt the shock and should have suffered even more serious disorganization because of the suddenness and extent of the impact. Contrary to expectations, however, the Japanese developed an even greater solidarity. How this integration has been effected is shown in *Kokutai*.

The Japanese have been selective, drawing freely from the material culture but relatively little from the non-material culture of the West. The old, deeply-rooted mores have been touched but little by Western influences. In addition there is an active program of defense in which the old tribal religion has been revived to maintain morale in the confusion of rapid change. This sacred organization eliminates all elements that are considered inimical to national unity. The Japanese have not only resisted the tidal wave of western secular culture with success, but have actually adopted elements from it to strengthen their sacred structure. A close-knit body of national doctrine, highly sentimental and not amenable to discussion, has been the outcome.

This book is a valuable and timely contribution in that it helps in under-

standing Japanese attitudes and behavior of the present day. Moreover, it provides a basis for comparing the effectiveness of the non-rational and sentimental elements of the Japanese religious revival with the high-pressure propaganda methods of contemporary Russia and Germany. The volume is well documented. Wide use was made of sources in the Japanese which are not readily accessible to Western scholars.

Miyamoto's study is concerned with the solidarity of the Japanese in Seattle and this may be considered typical of other communities on the Pacific Coast.

Weight of tradition stressing collective responsibility, the family system with its community relationships, the educational tradition of training for cooperative action, the religious and recreational institutions which reinforce sentiments toward Japan, their several socio-political institutions, and the need for mutual assistance in the American environment have been solidifying factors.

Although the Pacific Ocean separates the settings of these two books they are, nevertheless, closely related. Miyamoto's study of Seattle becomes more meaningful against the background of the volume by Reed.

WILLIAM C. SMITH

Linfield College
McMinnville, Oregon

Emigrant Communities in South China: A Study of Overseas Migration and Its Influence on Standards of Living and Social Change. By TA CHEN. Ed. by Bruno Lasker. New York: Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940. Pp. xvi+287. \$2.50.

This is the report of a study, conducted under the supervision of Professor Ta Chen and at the instigation of the Institute of Pacific Relations, of three communities in Kwangtung and Fukien provinces, China, which had experienced heavy emigration to the Nan Yang (the region immediately south of China and including the Philippines) and of one community in the same region which had experienced none. The last community was used as a "control." The problem was to ascertain the effects of the emigration on the culture of the communities which the emigrants had left. Attention was focused on changes in the standards of living. Family income, modes and levels of consumption, and the like, were studied and are reported in detail in this monograph. Fortunately, the term "standard of living" was broadly defined to include family size, patterns of marriage, educational achievements, health and medical practices, and even religious beliefs and practices. As a consequence, the monograph is an important contribution to the literature on cultural change.

Professor Ta Chen finds, although he does not express it in quite this way, that the emigrants wrought changes in the home community in two general ways: first, by sending money home and thus disturbing the former "economic base"; second, by returning home and bringing with them some of the Western or pseudo-Western practices and values which they had encoun-

tered in the Nan Yang. From the resultant disorganization one general conclusion can be drawn: cultural change, when studied during its actual process and in detail, is found to be patternless and formless and not in accord with any of our neat sociological theories of cultural change.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Folkways. By WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER. (Centennial Edition) Boston: Ginn and Co., 1940. Pp. xiv+692. \$4.00.

The best comment that has been made recently on Sumner's *Folkways* is the remark of William Lyon Phelps in his Introduction to the new Centennial Edition. "*Folkways*," he says, "is a book that never was a best-seller and has never stopped selling." That is probably the best rule-of-thumb index one is likely to find to determine whether any book, in its special field, deserves to be described as a classic.

If one asks what is the source of this perennial interest which laymen and professional students alike find in this book, it is perhaps the fact that Sumner did not seek to give his readers a "system" but a survey—a wide and intimate survey of everything that is or has been characteristically human and social in all the wide variety of institutions and institutional relations in which human beings are now or ever have anywhere lived.

Sumner's qualification for this task, aside from an insatiable interest in everything human, was a keen sense for what was at once unique and essential in every aspect of social life that attracted his attention. I might add, finally, that no one in his day and ours has pursued knowledge more indefatigably than Sumner. No one was more a scholar and less a pedant.

ROBERT E. PARK

Fisk University

The Filipino Way of Life: The Pluralized Philosophy. By CAMILO OSIAS. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1940. Pp. xiv+321. \$2.12.

In this volume a Filipino educator and politician attempts to formulate a philosophy for the new order in the Philippines—a philosophy which is "hopeful, optimistic, and progressive." The key to this philosophy is the *Datayo*, or pluralized concept, which the author believes is inherent in Filipino language and thinking and "should be *the way of life* for the individual, for the nation, for like-minded nations, and for humanity." (Preface.)

Setting up a blueprint for Utopia is a large order, even under the most favorable conditions. What is this magic concept, *Datayo*, which can cure the troubles of the world today? By what means can its trinity of objectives: efficiency, freedom and happiness, be obtained? Certain Filipino languages differentiate not only singular and plural numbers but further divide the latter into dual ("we two"), plural exclusive ("we three or more"), and plural all-inclusive ("we all"). The individuals' mental and social development is supposed to develop through analogous stages, finally reaching the *Datayo*,

or "we all" stage, where he is "capable of conceiving of humanity as a unified and co-operating whole." Most of the difficulties in the world today are due to a failure to reach this level.

On this shaky foundation the author sets out to develop a social philosophy and an educational program for the Philippines, but before he gets under way as a philosopher, the politician and the pedagogue take over. Instead of a realistic appraisal of the Philippines and her problems and a program for action, the reader is furnished with page after page of useless platitudes and vague moralizings about Filipinism, spiritual regeneration, the national soul, and the like. On this pap prospective teachers are to be fed and the national character reconstituted!

There is an appendix containing a bibliography and the new Constitution of the Philippines, adopted in 1935.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

Negro Youth at the Crossways: Their Personality Development in the Middle States. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Washington, D. C.: American Council on Education, 1940. Pp. xxiii+301. \$2.25.

"If you ain't white, you just ain't right!" This remark of a lower class youth speaking of jobs describes all the interracial relations described in this book. All the American Youth Commission's Negro investigations tell the same story. Whether you are an upper, middle, or lower class Negro, and whether you are talking about the community, family, neighborhood, school, church, or industry, the conclusion is the same: "You can't escape"—frustration, bitterness, invidious comparison, overt discrimination, lack of opportunity, suspicion, fear, hatred. It is the tragic role of a subordinate class in a culture which likes to call itself both democratic and Christian. These are my reactions, not Frazier's. He contents himself with presenting what he finds. The picture is black, and rouses black thoughts which, of course, solve no problems.

The study is based on 268 interviews with young people in Washington, D. C., and Louisville, Ky., aged 9 to 23, modal age 17, 123 males, 145 females, 206 from Washington, 62 from Louisville. The procedure was to classify the responses of the youth according to the socio-economic class of their parents, though the interviewees were distributed only very roughly in these classes in the same proportions as the class percentages in the two cities. The sample is random, not representative. Probably there would have been no great advantage in selecting a representative sample since the whole study is primarily "insightful" and exploratory on the verbal response descriptive level.

The reader does not get a very clear picture of how it feels to be a Negro youth in a border city; there is evidently a wide variety of feelings among the Negroes themselves. Hence, the reader is left somewhat confused. If the excerpts are taken as representative, it appears that there are some distinctive differences between the feelings of the three classes. However, if all the excerpts were printed on cards, I doubt whether a panel of sorters

could classify them very accurately into upper, lower, and middle class. If this is true, then considerable doubt is thrown upon many of the conclusions regarding the differential class feelings. "Upper class youth on the whole are self-confident about the future" (page 167). From my own contacts (limited, to be sure) with upper class Negro youth, I get a very different impression. I think Frazier's description of the upper class attitudes is much too roseate. It is probably true that Negro "upper" classes do have contempt for Negro "lower" classes—"cornfield niggers," "no-account niggers," "trash," etc.—just as "upper" class whites have similar feelings for "lower" class whites—reliefers, WPA workers, hoboes, Jews, low I. Q.'s, white trash, etc. Whether it is more intense in the one case than the other, I do not know, but it is possible that certain classes of whites and Negroes, both "upper" and "lower," have closer fellow-feelings than some classes of Negroes and whites have toward other classes of Negroes and whites. Personally, I like and understand certain classes of Negroes better than I do certain classes of whites.

In an effort to remedy the defect of segmental analysis (page 268), rather complete life stories are given of Warren Wall and Almina Small. My reaction to these somewhat lengthy cases is that they prove nothing and illuminate little. Similar stories could be told of white children in similar familial and community situations. It is true, these cases are not presented as typical, but if they are not typical, what value do they have? Sullivan's comments on the case of Warren Wall are conspicuous by an almost complete ignoring of the case. He makes some general remarks about Negroes that add little to our present knowledge.

On the whole, the book leaves me with a distinct feeling of dissatisfaction. The subject seems to be blurred rather than clarified. The title of the book seems to promise something that isn't quite delivered, unless it merely indicates that Negro youth are confused—but so are white youth—and so am I. I got more real "insight"—and information—out of the well-documented statement in Appendix A, the rationale of the study, Appendix B, a description of the Washington Negro community, and Chapter I, "The Negro Community" (56 pages in all) than I did from the other 268 pages. This, I think is due to the method used. The book evidently is intended to give us "insight." It certainly doesn't give us much basis for scientific generalization. When I read a statement by a subject, I keep wondering whether this is representative of the sample; is the sample representative of the total youth; what proportion in each of the three classes feel this way; are the classes as clearcut as they seem to be; do young white people feel much differently, aside from the fact that their symbols of dissatisfaction would be other things than the Negro's race feeling; what correspondence is there between what they say and what they do; how can the author be so sure that this is the way it is; and so on. This questioning results in doubt and confusion rather than in understanding.

Books like *In a Minor Key* are better—at least for me.

READ BAIN

Miami University

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

The Negro in Louisiana. Aspects of his History and his Literature. By CHARLES BARTHELEMY ROUSSEVE. New Orleans: The Xavier University Press, 1937. Pp. xvii+212.

This book, a master's thesis as stated in the foreword, is representative of the growing effort on the part of the younger generation of Negroes to discover themselves. Although it deals in a general way with some of the social and economic problems of the Negro before and following the Civil War, the main emphasis of the book is on the achievements of the Negro in art and literature. Since the general tone of the book indicates an awakening of race consciousness on the part of the author, it is not surprising that by placing the blame upon whites he dismisses in a few words the well-known antagonism between the mulattoes of free ancestry and the black slaves and their descendants. An appendix contains some selections from the poetry of the free men of color.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Invisible Empire: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan, 1866-1871. By STANLEY F. HORN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939. Pp. xii+434. Illustrations, references, and appendices. \$3.50.

That the task of writing this interesting book was one which involved an enormous expenditure of time and labor must be apparent to anyone experienced in historical research. The Ku Klux Klan was the product of the time, and of the social and economic conditions prevailing in the region in which it flourished. Its story is only a part of the whole tragic story of reconstruction in the South, but it is a part that was for many years shrouded in mystery. The organization moved in secret, kept no records, and its members were bound by oath not to reveal anything with respect to its activities. It was only through years of patient research in old newspaper files throughout the South and by many personal interviews with former Klansmen that the author collected the material for a very readable and apparently unbiased story of this mysterious order.

The seventeen chapters are divided into three parts dealing with the growth of the empire, its various realms, and its decline. The critical historian may not be entirely satisfied with the author's explanation that: "to avoid interruption to the flow of the narrative there are no distracting footnotes . . . but every statement is fully substantiated." Such a reader will realize that the pronounced opinions with respect to the Klan which prevailed in former years still persist, faded somewhat by the lapse of time, and may prefer to judge for himself as to how far the authority for some statements can be trusted. The great majority of readers, however, will not regard the absence of footnote references as serious, especially since the author indicates that this is the story of the Klan rather than a formal history.

This is a fascinating book written in a charming style which holds the reader's attention to the end and which he will lay aside with the feeling that he has derived from it not only much pleasure but a great deal of profit

as well. An interesting feature of the volume is a sixteen page "introduction in pictures." Also the appendices which include the original and the revised prescript of the Klan together with other important documents add much to its historical value.

EDWARD EVERETT DALE

University of Oklahoma

The Answer. By LUDWIG LEWISOHN. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1939. Pp. 342. \$2.00.

Judaism and the American Mind. By PHILIP DAVID BOOKSTABER. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1939. Pp. 248. \$2.50.

Ludwig Lewisohn is regarded today as the foremost literary exponent of Jewish nationalism who writes in English. Since his "conversion" some years ago, the espousal of Jewish nationalism has come to be the dominant, indeed exclusive interest of his life, and a steady stream of writings on this theme, belletristic and otherwise, has flowed from his pen. (In Meyer Levin's sociological novel *The Old Bunch* dealing with contemporary Jewish life in urban America, one young Jew asks of another, "Are you Jewishly troubled? Have you been reading Ludwig Lewisohn?").

The Answer is a collection of a number of fugitive pieces on various aspects of the Jewish problem composed during recent years. The occasionalness of their origin and the fervor of their rhetorical presentation necessarily precludes a systematic treatment of any of the problems. The book abounds in constant and passionate criticism of Jewish assimilationists which he attributes largely to some form of *jüdische Selbsthass*. Running all through are fierce exhortations toward Jewish self-affirmation and particularism, both ethnic and religious; indeed this homiletic quality is the outstanding characteristic of the book. He holds Zionism to be the cornerstone for a solution to the Jewish problem. As for the United States he advocates cultural pluralism and proposes the establishment of Jewish colonies, cooperative freehold villages, to counteract the excessive urbanization of Jews and reduce group frictions. In a similar connection he urges the establishment of a Jewish university in the U.S.A. to cope with the apparently increasing application of the *numerus clausus* to Jewish students.

The book contains also interesting observations on a miscellany of problems. E.g., a critique of radicalism; application of psychoanalysis to an understanding of antisemitism; exposition of the universally human idealism inherent in Zionism; a critique of British policy in Palestine prior to the outbreak of the second world war; review of recent English literature on the Jew and a critique of literary production by deracinated Jews—even quoting a little-known early writing of Goethe to substantiate his thesis, demonstration of the congruity of liberalism with the Jewish spirit.

Judaism and the American Mind is a summary presentation of the belief and practises of Judaism (from the Reform standpoint) to bring out the congruities with democracy. There are summaries of the attitude of

Judaism to various social problems; war and peace; social justice; the totalitarian state; the family; communal welfare. This ought to be a useful presentation for young people.

The student will be interested in the plan of community organization worked out in Rabbi Bookstaber's own community of Harrisburg; and in his reactions to the Good Will movement. Also of interest are the registrations of the influence of the impact of the American scene upon various aspects of Jewish religious expression (eg., services and education).

EPHRAIM FISCHOFF

Long Branch, N. J.

Jewish Family Solidarity. BY STANLEY R. BRAV. Vicksburg, Miss.: Nogales Press, 1940. Pp. 130. \$2.50.

In *Jewish Family Solidarity* the author has attempted to examine critically the assumption that Jewish families are more unified and better integrated than are non-Jewish families. His field of investigation is limited to the Jewish families of Vicksburg, Miss. Admittedly, such an area of study is too restricted to furnish a basis for any generalization which might be applicable to the Jewish population as a whole. Moreover, the question may properly be raised whether the Jewish population of a small inland city is a truly representative sample of the Jewish population throughout the nation. Another factor of importance is the extent to which the distinctive familial culture traits of a small minority group have been modified by contacts with the larger surrounding group, especially where these contacts have been cordial and have continued over a number of years. By a carefully devised questionnaire the author has attempted a comparison of family cooperation and loyalty as it occurs in the Jewish families of Vicksburg with that which exists in a comparable sample of non-Jewish families. The conclusion reached by Brav that the "findings of this study . . . give definite credence to the popular assumption of strength in Jewish family solidarity" (p. 68) may be true in Vicksburg, but the reviewer is not convinced that this work establishes the validity of that conclusion generally.

W. C. WATERMAN

Brooklyn College

The Beggar. BY HARLAN W. GILMORE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. Pp. \$2.50.

In 1887 C. J. Ribton-Turner published his *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy and Beggars and Begging*. This book on the same subject is an effort to give the natural social history of beggars and begging, written by a sociologist. Begging is viewed, as indicated by Professor E. T. Krueger in the Foreword, as a type of human parasitism. Regarding this interpretation of begging, Gilmore has made a contribution. His first chapter, "Our Mendicant Heritage" is a well-written exposition of this thesis.

One of the shortcomings of this book is the failure of the author to relate begging in the United States to the unemployment problem and to consider the fact that so many of the panhandlers on our streets are really persons

temporarily unemployed, or workers recovering from periodical drunks. Moreover, he accepts with too much credence a great many studies of beggars or vagrants by people who were no more than curious observers, amateur researchers or shocked onlookers. This observation applies especially to his chapter on the earnings of beggars. These are minor shortcomings.

The book is well-written. The contents are informing. The materials are well-organized. There is an excellent bibliography. The author has shown that the American beggar has a long and ancient ancestry in all the older cultures, but here he is shaping a culture of his own. Even the beggar progresses with changes in civilization. This is all to the good. We have today no better book than this on the subject.

NELS ANDERSON

*Section on Labor Relations, W. P. A.
Washington, D.C.*

Houseboat and River-Bottoms People. BY E. T. HILLER. Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1939. Pp. 146. \$1.50 Paperbound, \$2.00 Cloth.

This is a scholarly study of the families living along or on the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers in Illinois.

Faced with the difficult task of drawing a representative sample from an ever-changing, conglomerate population in an unknown universe, 683 households were selected from the ascertainable strata. The sample households were interviewed in the early part of 1935. Unfortunately a copy of the schedule used is not included in the report, but from the discussion and tables presented, it apparently covered in a systematic fashion family life with special reference to its population composition, internal organization, mobility, tenure status, income and employment record, scale of living, participation in institutional affairs, and attitudes toward the prevailing mores. This was supplemented by field work on the ecological distributions and cultural traditions of the local communities. As a result, the analysis consistently avoids any particularistic formula and is characterized by a well-integrated theoretical framework.

The bulk of the studied group possess much of the orientation to life of a frontier culture: improvisation of shelter from limited facilities; ingenious techniques for gaining a living; a patriarchal family; a high birth rate; strong ambitions for the offspring to rise higher than their parents in the social ladder; an extensive emigration of young adults; low regard for formal institutional affiliations; informal patterns of association, mutual aid and social control; indifference to the legalistic aspects of property ownership.

Current patterns of living are largely the outgrowth of these factors, conditioned to some degree by geographical circumstances and changes in the society as a whole. Thus the recent depression brought dislocations to those whose work and income were contingent upon conditions outside of the local group, but the local economy is not the resultant of depression years.

This reviewer is unable to follow the author on two points. First, that "the reliability of the information and the pertinence of the sampling are

confirmed by the regularity of the frequency distributions" (p. 15). Assuming that by "regularity" is meant a relatively normal curve, such a distribution *per se* does not seem acceptable as evidence either of the representativeness of the sample or of the reliability of the responses elicited. Other tests are needed.

The second point pertains to the use of the concept of social disorganization. The "paucity of adaptive agencies; the negligible cooperation, exchange, and use of special skills; the casual attachment to the locality and community; the comparatively high degree of isolation from the prevailing culture, reflected in the meagre schooling; and in the slight sharing in the normative and adaptive agencies . . . and the households do not share normally in the culture of the larger community," (p. 138) are used as criteria of social *disorganization*. Would not such traits be more suggestive of a *lack* of formal institutionalized patterns of group life? Lack of social participation and even indifference to the aspirations of the Great Society does not thereby render a people disorganized, unless we define disorganization to mean failure to emulate the ways of the dominant group.

These points in no major way detract from the contributions of this work—the presentation of a well-integrated body of data on a hitherto unexplored group, and a method of research applicable to similar marginal cultural areas.

JOHN USEEM

University of South Dakota

The Good Old Days. By DAVID L. COHR. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1940. Pp. xxxiv+597. \$3.75.

One wonders why such a source of material about the American people has not been used more often. Sears & Roebuck came into existence to serve the isolated small town and rural people by mail order. However, when this isolation was broken down by the automobile, Sears had to establish local retail stores to service these automobiles; also, to catch another group of city patrons because of the waning farm income.

The claim that mass production improves standards of living by reducing prices is not true, because almost universally similar items have increased in price from 40 percent to 100 percent from 1905-1940, while commodities of farmers—the group Sears tries to reach—have certainly shown no such tendency to increase.

Although the company has always claimed high ideals of merchandising, its medical aid pages, until the sale of drugs was regulated by Federal law, would cause the local witch doctor and medicine-show man to blush with shame.

Population experts might get some indication of future trends of rural population by the increasing space given to birth control items. Most of the items are of the so-called "feminine hygiene" nature and are not usually dependable, but the large sale of such items does show the desire of Sears' patrons to limit their offspring.

Although people may be reading more today, they are not buying as many books from Sears & Roebuck.

The book is interesting and readable, but too voluminous, somewhat like one of Sears' catalogs.

DANIEL RUSSELL

Texas A. & M. College

144 Smaller Cities. By E. L. THORNDIKE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1940. Pp. 135. \$1.50.

This small volume is an extension, for cities of 20,000 to 30,000 population, of the study reported in Thorndike's *Your City* for the larger American communities. The methods employed are essentially the same, but limitations in available data reduce the constituent items of the "goodness" score to twenty-four (five of health, six of education, three of economic items, five of modern conveniences, three of death rates, per capita circulation of magazines and percent of literacy). Comparable scores for these cities computed on a basis directly related to that for the larger cities are also presented. Other good features are the suggestion of a standard for city improvement in each item for the next ten years, and the usefulness of the data to determine subsequent changes.

The book is disappointing, however, in a number of directions. Many of the comments are of the most obvious character. There is insufficient explanation of tabular material, some of the items in the tables being left without explanation in the text. The sources of the data are in the main left to the imagination, the standards for improvement are not carefully worked out, and the analysis of the factors in the goodness of the cities is not explained as fully as the raw data warrant. More serious still are the assumptions that personal qualities of people can overcome the handicap of general poverty of a community or region and bring about material advancement. In the opinion of the reviewer, the atomistic and individualistic tendency in interpretation is the weakest aspect of the study, and incidentally is one which few sociologists would fail to avoid. It also remains to be proved that material comforts of a city depend more on personal qualities than on high incomes (as claimed on p. 60), or that a combination of literacy, home ownership, use of telephones, absence of venereal disease, and small tendency to commit homicide is a fair index of personal qualities of population.

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

The First Michigan Frontier. By CALVIN GOODRICH. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1940. Pp. viii+344. \$2.50.

Certain historians are so completely absorbed in antiquarian detail that they lose sight of the common folk. Mr. Goodrich gives a carefully documented survey of Detroit from 1701 to 1763, but his work is a compendium

of facts, not a description of the daily life and adjustments of the people to their frontier environment. This he realizes, for he calls his book a "miscellany" which does not deal "with the vital theme of social development"; he is mistaken, however, in thinking that he is describing folkways, for garrison accounts, guns used, and currency, are not folkways.

Two maps show Detroit and its immediate environs; they are excellent. On the other hand, there is no map to show Detroit's position in relation to other French and English posts of the period. The chapter on neighboring Indians is ethnographically faulty. Marriage among the settlers is not even mentioned, and religion is considered only in its political aspects. This, then, is one of those meticulous, accurate, objective monographs, praiseworthy yet wholly lifeless. It will be useful to the scholar who knows how to put the breath of life into historical fact, for early Detroit and early Michillimackinac were more than a collection of houses, boats, and farms: they were settlements of living people.

JAMES G. LEYBURN

Yale University.

Critiques of Research in the Social Sciences: III. An Appraisal of Walter Prescott Webb's "The Great Plains." By FRED A. SHANNON with comment by WEBB, a panel discussion, and a commentary by READ BAIN. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1940. Bulletin 46. PP. xi+254.

This appraisal of research in the field of history, if not the most satisfactory, is decidedly the most lively that has yet appeared in the series sponsored by the Social Science Research Council. The book selected as outstanding is that product of the new history, *The Great Plains*. Mr. Shannon takes Webb's bold generalizations developed about one of the distinctive regions of our country, puts them through the tests of documentation and historiography, and decides that everything true in the book is old and everything new is false—or decidedly near it. In the process the forest is lost sight of in the trees and Mr. Webb rejects the appraisal. One, it appears, can take his choice: the Committee picked either the wrong book or the wrong appraiser. There follows some discussion as to whether the historian best serves his calling by piling up facts or developing new generalizations and hypotheses. In the appraisal of the appraisal, Shannon's criticisms are called picayunish by a historian of the West, and his authorities are called into account. Mr. Shannon replies that he does not write as a specialist on the West, that when he cites material that does not mean that he accepts it, and attacks the tradition of gentility in history. The climax is reached (have you guessed it?) when he is accused of disliking the South and of defaming the name of Robert E. Lee! The Chairman warns a participant that the Committee cannot render a point by point decision between the two contestants, and Mr. Bain as commentator takes his part in the *melée* by assigning Webb an encyclopedic task (p. 223) which was certainly no part of his original undertaking.

It would be interesting to speculate as to why this appraisal and con-

ference fell below the level attained by those in sociology and economics. It is difficult to see just how the appraisal failed to set the high level of dignity and objectivity needed, just as it is difficult to see why in the discussion the issues were not joined and why no consensus emerged. It can be agreed, however, that in the words of one participant the "issues were ventilated" and a good time was had by all.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. By A. L. KROEBER. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. XXXVIII. Pp. xii+242. 28 maps. Paper \$3.00; cloth \$3.50.

Here is the best synthesis of North American ethnology to date. In compact style Professor Kroeber reviews the native cultures of North America in their environmental and historical relations, revising the traditionally accepted culture areas, analyzing and evaluating geographical and ecological factors, and defining cultural centers or climaxes. While the culture area is central to the discussion, Kroeber considers it merely a means to an end. "The conception on which the present monograph is based is that space and time factors are sufficiently interrelated in culture history to make the culture area a valuable mechanism, rather than a distraction, in the penetration of the time perspective of the growth of cultures so relatively undocumented as those of native America" (p. 2).

For North America some eighty-four specific areas of native culture are recognized and mapped. These are grouped into six major areas, each of which is "believed to represent a substantial unit of historical development" (p. 20). The ecological aspects and historical relations of each area are excellently handled. Of particular value is the discussion of Mexico and Central America, whose specific areas are here adequately delimited for the first time.

After outlining the physiographic areas Kroeber discusses the relation of environmental factors to culture by an evaluation of physiography, vegetation, climate, water, and drainage, in relation to the cultural units which he has established. A final chapter attempts the difficult task of evaluating cultural intensity or climax in native North America, and suggests similarities to the general pattern of cultural development in historic civilizations.

There is, in addition, an excellent study of native population, with some rather surprising conclusions, and a brief but cogent discussion of native agriculture. Particularly noteworthy are the twenty-eight maps, many of which are arranged for visual comparison. All in all, this volume seems to the reviewer to be the most important study in American ethnology in recent years. It is to be regretted, therefore, that it had to wait almost a decade before publication.

FRED EGGAN

University of Chicago

Acculturation in Seven American Tribes. Ed. by RALPH LINTON. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. xi+526. \$4.00.

Studies of seven tribes of North American Indians form the basis of this publication. These studies are based on original field work as well as published literature, and are presented according to a general outline of acculturation. The studies include the following: (1) The Puyallup of Washington (Marian W. Smith); (2) The White Knife Shoshoni of Nevada (Jack S. Harris); (3) The Northern Arapaho of Wyoming (Henry Elkin); (4) The Southern Ute of Colorado (Marvin K. Opler); (5) The Fox of Iowa (Natalie F. Joffe); (6) The Alkatcho Carrier of British Columbia (Irving Goldman); (7) The San Ildefonso of New Mexico (William Whittman). Each tribe presents a different type of acculturation, a different type of contact with Western civilization, and a different degree of integration today.

With this basic material in mind, Linton adds three closing chapters on the general process of acculturation. The recognized difficulty in defining the term "acculturation" is not resolved, but an extended analysis of the factors involved is given. Acculturation is the general process of culture change and culture transfer, but may differ from these in two major ways: first, by "direct cultural change" ("in which one of the groups in contact interferes actively and purposefully with the culture of the other"); second, by "social-cultural fusion."

The descriptions of the tribes are in themselves valuable. The discussion of acculturation, while not intended to be exhaustive, presents interesting leads to this complex subject.

WENDELL C. BENNETT

Yale University

The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations. By GEORGE T. HUNT. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1940. Pp. 209. \$3.00.

Hunt's book places before the social anthropologist a thesis built upon the principle of accounting for human movements, both political and social, by examining the forces exerted through trade relationships. He has found his evidence in historical documents, hence the work is not primarily a sociological study, except in so far as social changes are definable and interpretable through historical records. In this respect it is a sociological treatise, so ably and critically handled as to demand serious attention from the social scientist.

There are splendid sections of critical analysis and historical summary, teeming, in many places, with original thought. These headings suggest the wealth of material covered: The Problem of the Iroquois; Before the Conquest; The Iroquois, 1609-1640; The Hurons and Their Neighbors; The Huron Trading Empire; Iroquois and Hurons; The Great Dispersion; The Upper Canada and Michigan Tribes; The Susquehanna War; The War in the Illinois Country. The same comment holds for several appendices dealing with the Dutch and the French trade in firearms. A critique of evidence

on the date of the "Peace of 1653," correcting it to 1655, concludes the text.

The author has read the motivations of society in an uncivilized group out of the abundantly recorded incidents of history. There are strokes of clear originality in his tracing of population shift and of economic progress through acculturation, for instance, induced by intertribal or by French trade interests, or by war-for-trade, among the Iroquois. No ethnologist concerned with the eastern Indians has been free from a sense of conviction that the causes of wholesale tribal migration in the central and Lakes regions lay in the pressure of the Iroquois. Hunt has formulated our hazy views in a manner satisfactory for the present and probably for some time to come. Future researchers will not be able to ignore his carefully accumulated data nor his conclusions, even should some of the latter need to be altered.

Hunt's treatment clearly reveals keen understanding of those forces of history which underly the contacts of superior civilization with the periphery of inferior cultures in other parts of the continent, and the importance of trade and commerce hastened by the acquisition of firearms. He vigorously flouts the hitherto accepted views of those expositors of Iroquois history who attribute the intertribal wars to "insensate fury" and "homicidal frenzy." "Tribal motives must necessarily be mysterious to the historian who ignores the social and economic metamorphosis brought about by the trade," Dr. Hunt maintains (p. 5). And so the debunking of Iroquois history fearlessly proceeds at his hands.

The author opens a barrage of unreserved criticism upon the explanatory conceptions offered by previous attempts to write Iroquois history. Colden, Parkman, Morgan, and Beauchamp are stood up as targets for his shafts of criticism in justification of the claim that for the Iroquois "there is no satisfactory history of them, and only two have been attempted." Parkman's theory of "insensate fury," Morgan's thesis of a superior Iroquois intellect producing a superior political organization to exterminate "their enemies in order to establish universal tribal peace," and Colden's proposal that the supply of firearms from the Dutch "gave rein to a natural passion for conquest and butchery" are rent asunder with heavy documentary dynamite. The bibliography (pp. 185-89) is an outstanding contribution to economic and social history in eastern North America. It seems not only justifiable through the author's documentary analysis, but sensible in view of the knowledge we derive through field contacts with peoples and conditions in native America, to follow his logic in explaining Iroquois war motives. I do not know of any student of Iroquois institutions who would dispute the thesis at length, unless it might have been Dr. Hewitt in recent years. Hunt also disposes of the claim—so often put forth—of political genius as lying at the bottom of Iroquois prowess.

In several parts of the sections dealing with the peripheral tribes (Algonkian and Siouan) the ethnological specialist will find matter to cause question. Much has been published in ethnological monographs on the Winnebago, Illinois, Ottawa, and Miami, for instance, for failing to cite which a historian may be excused but not entirely exonerated from blame. The ethnologist inevitably senses the lack of reference to such specialists as

Radin, Jenness, Barbeau, Weer, William Jones, Col. Clark (for the Iroquois), who have debated over points dealt with in pertinent sections of the book. Categorization of mores and motives in totality for single tribal groups, it seems, can never be held down to a degree short of the too-sweeping; as here for the Sioux (pp. 124-25), "the mildest mannered, the most thoroughly honorable and the gentlest people of the period and region, and perhaps in the whole of North America," for the Fox "unruly and self-sufficient . . . taking no part in intertribal affairs" (p. 126), for the Potawatomi "intelligent, affable and courteous" according to contemporary accounts (p. 126).

In general the substance of treatment is so interestingly devised, so meaty and filled with significance for the social anthropologist that it is difficult to read for review of its content without forgetting that purpose. The treatment the author gives his topics sometimes rouses the reader to adverse judgments upon his interpretations of native motives of action as they are revealed in sources quoted from Jesuit missionary narratives. Yet they are dispelled and made reasonable in the course of reading, with piecemeal analysis of the interpolitical messes recorded in the narratives. The personal equations of the missionary recorders are never ignored. Hunt knows them, too, and makes full use of his critical acumen as a balance wheel for interpretation.

FRANK G. SPECK

University of Pennsylvania

Crime and the Community. BY LEO PAGE. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1937. Pp. 394. 12s. 6d.

Leo Page, a barrister-at-law of the Inner Temple, has undertaken to write a book with a twofold purpose: to awaken public interest, and to discuss specific proposals. Although this reviewer is not competent to judge the extent to which he has awakened English public opinion it can be stated that he has made a convincing case for at least one reader on this side of the water. Concerning the second purpose, there is no question that Page has been prolific in the number of proposals he has put forth; at the same time, however there may be an honest difference of opinion as to the convincingness of some of them; or of the degree of insight that has accompanied their presentation.

Page divides his work into three parts: theory, practice, reform. Under theory he discusses the problem of crime and punishment, the development of criminal law administration, the aim of punishment, and the criminal as a human being. The section on the criminal law is by far the strongest, which is perhaps not unexpected in view of the author's professional interest. However, several qualifications must be inserted here, particularly the failure to distinguish a moralistic attitude from a basic understanding of human behavior.

The section on practice hardly shows England in a flattering light (nor would America fare any better). The most hopeful feature of the correc-

tional set-up in England is the development of the Borstal System with its emphasis upon adequate treatment of the young adult offender. There is reason to hope that the Borstal System will not suffer from a hardening of the arteries as did our own much touted Elmira System.

Part III considers reform. Aside from specific suggestions for improvement of food in prison, or medical care, or prison discipline, there is very little to indicate that any fundamental change is taking place in penological theory or practice in England. This is especially clear in the discussion of probation. The essence of probation has not been grasped, despite the fact that the entire treatise points, unmistakably, toward a modification of the penal system and the development of more specialized services for the individual offender. Probation, a step which would implement such services, is still in its infancy.

ARTHUR E. FINK

University of Georgia

Trends in Crime Treatment: Yearbook of the National Probation Association, 1939 Ed. by MARJORIE BELL. New York: National Probation Association. Pp. viii+372.

Punishment in the Philosophy of Saint Thomas Aquinas and Among Some Primitive Peoples. BY GEORGE QUENTIN FRIEL. Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1939. Pp. xi+308. \$2.00.

Criminological Research Bulletin: No. IX-1939. Compiled and Edited by J. P. SHALLOO. New York: The American Prison Association. Pp. 19. Free on request.

Trends in Crime Treatment is a collection of papers presented at the 1939 annual conference of the National Probation Association. These papers are devoted to the following topics: checking early symptoms of crime; changing delinquent attitudes; detention techniques; juvenile court statistics; the juvenile court in transition; probation statistics; probation administration; probation and parole progress; crime and the public. The student of crime will find most of these papers particularly interesting because the authors are chiefly concerned with current practices and thus furnish the reader with a realistic account of what is being done in the treatment of offenders. The book also contains a digest of legislation and court decisions affecting probation, parole, and the juvenile court during 1939. This section is worthwhile since it tends to keep the reader informed of the legal developments in these fields. Finally, the last section of the book is devoted to a review of the activities of the Association.

Friel's dissertation proposes "to compare Saint Thomas' philosophy of penalty with penalty as it is actually worked out among primitive peoples" (pp. ix-x). To do so he first devotes his attention to an exposition of the philosophy of Saint Thomas bearing on the subject of punishment. Thus approximately half of the book is given to an elaborate account of the views of Saint Thomas on punishment. This account is followed by a review of

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primitive penal practices and philosophy. The author confines his primitive materials to peoples in the lower nomadic culture level. Friel believes that by focusing attention upon these peoples it is possible to acquire knowledge of the penal practices and philosophy of early man. (This is an assumption that many scientists will not find warrantable.) The author then goes on to compare the penal practices and philosophy of Saint Thomas with those of primitive peoples and finds them in rather close agreement on punishable crimes. The agreement, however, becomes less close in matters of intent, responsibility, purpose of punishment, and agencies for inflicting punishment.

Most persons interested in criminology are familiar with the *Criminological Research Bulletin*. This annual publication has become a most welcome addition to the library of the student of crime. The 1939 number of the Bulletin includes a brief description of new research projects. This is followed by a follow-up report on projects included in previous numbers of the Bulletin. Both the new and the old projects are listed under appropriate sections which tends to facilitate the use of the Bulletin. This publication continues to be of great service in keeping one abreast of developments in criminology.

E. D. MONACHESI

University of Minnesota

The Dilemma of Penal Reform. BY HERMANN MANNHEIM. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1939. Pp. 238. 7s. 6d.

If penal systems reflected the exact status of criminality as the ophthalmoscope permits the inspection of the retina, there would be no serious dilemma in the sphere of penal reform. Systematization might still lag behind the march of evolution, since law is rigid and life moves in ebb and flow, and law which retrogressively dams the flow may also progressively stem the ebb. It is true, legislators may often prove to be incompetent social doctors with little training and limited experience, men sometimes motivated merely by the desire for personal gain. However, there would be medical men of greater ability and of irreproachable honesty above the everyday doctors, men whose careful and authoritative diagnosis would carry general conviction. Knowledge would rule out emotional ways of approach, and while we would certainly be left with a problem, we would no longer be in the position of having to choose between two equally undesirable alternatives.

The inadequacy of human institutions is due to human foibles, to the weakness of the individual or the greater weaknesses of the mass; rational solutions cannot be expected where emotions—that is, irrational urges and tendencies—interfere with our actions. Dr. Mannheim has not been concerned with the question why there is and will continue to be a dilemma of penal reform. He has discussed ably and at some length some forms taken by the clash of principles: first the economic factor in penal development, then the social implications of having been punished, and finally what he calls the legal dilemma of penal reform. I acknowledge that the first two

are real difficulties. I deny, however, that there is a genuine dilemma in criminal procedure. Theoretically we can change our laws at any time, we can experiment in matters of procedure. But we can not set aside at will the intrinsic imperfections of human nature and of our social structure.

The hostile attitude towards the occupation of prisoners and the care of the discharged convict will never be completely overcome, and the same holds true with that additional penalty which we lay on the convict by threatening his family's existence during and after imprisonment. We brand him with a stigma, and we have no method of de-stigmatization—much as we would like to have it.

In our judgment of criminals we rely on superficialities. We distinguish between the first offender and the persistent criminal, although the first offender may be a many-times-undetected malefactor. Inversely the so-called persistence in crime might be rather attributable to the persistent forces of a detrimental milieu and not at all to the man's fixed disposition. Just so we point at the difference between the ex-convict and the individual of excellent antecedents. A stainless record, however, is not seldom an optical illusion and a mere shortcoming in our information.

Mannheim's little book does not present solutions. Dr. Pryn's Hopkins once remarked: "Criminals are amongst the most pleasure-giving members of the social community. They become our whipping boys and permit us to work off our deepest hates and passions with a minimum of harm to ourselves." In reading these words we feel strongly that Dr. Mannheim's book has placed before us many suggestive facts, but has not reached the depths of human nature which after all are the real culprits in all our social dilemmas, present and future.

HANS VON HENTIG

University of Colorado

Group Life. BY MARY K. SIMKHOVITCH. New York: Association Press, 1940. Pp. 99. \$1.00.

This little book was written by the veteran head of a well-known social settlement. Presumably it was addressed to group workers, as they are coming to be called. Actually it is couched in terms so simple that it might easily be read by a high school student. However, the lack of concrete illustrations would hamper its usefulness for immature readers. For college students of sociology and for professional social workers it offers little that is new. Its mixture of commonplace observations with modest exhortation leaves the reviewer unstirred.

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University

Administration of Public Welfare. BY R. CLYDE WHITE. Boston: The American Book Co., 1940. Pp. vii+527.

This is a thoroughly competent outline of the general field of public welfare administration in which the old lines of the academic disciplines of political science and social work are rather completely obliterated. The gen-

eral relations of public welfare administrators to representatives of other functions of government are dealt with broadly without any attempt to present a thesis that welfare activities differ from other activities of state government and should accordingly be set up with special protection to keep "politics" from entering into them. This thesis has done much in the past to prevent professional welfare workers from joining in a general movement to improve administration in all branches of government. If White's position is becoming widespread, and books such as this will do much to make it so, the general tone of politics will certainly be improved.

Avoiding technical details that would tend to obscure broad outlines, he has introduced the student in turn to the historic and political aspects of organization, methods of treatment, personnel, finance, public relations, and the role of statistics and research in this field. No expert in any of these fields will be satisfied with the cursory treatment accorded his own field, but probably each will be content with the general treatment given the others. The book includes a well-selected bibliography and is well indexed. It deserves widespread adoption in introductory courses in the field.

W. FRED COTTRELL

Miami University

Rural Roads to Security: America's Third Struggle for Freedom. By LUIGI G. LIGUTTI and JOHN C. RAWE. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1940. Pp. xiv+387. \$2.75.

This book is offered as a critical appraisal of current doctrines and plans of rural social reform in America. It is designed as a textbook in rural sociology, which the authors regard as "a field yet meagerly supplied."

Part I consists of an examination of the growth and implications of "proletarianism," which is defined in terms of urbanism, mass production, the concentration of ownership of productive goods, commercialized agriculture, loss of the traditional love of land and the ethic of frugality and industry. Part II carries the discussion into the problems flowing from the decline of subsistence farming, the increase in farm tenancy, and the emergence of part-time farming. Part III explores techniques of social control in modern rural life with special emphasis upon the role of youth, community cooperation, and leadership. Appendices present such documents as brief accounts of cooperative programs in New York, Alabama, Nova Scotia, and Iowa, and the Farm Tenancy Committee Report to the President.

An extensive bibliography is attached, but the treatise itself displays a conspicuous absence of citations of, or serious consideration of, the contents of the monographs and other works listed.

The style is vigorously polemical throughout. Most of the recent programs are portrayed in pitch black and the projected future, if the agrarian views herein advocated are followed, in pristine white.

Some of the conclusions drawn do not follow from the evidence presented, and several major generalizations would be considerably modified had other relevant materials been consulted. To cite a case: This treatise maintains

that decentralization of industry is a major trend and offers one of the most adequate solutions of insecurity in our times. Had the basic monographic research in this field been consulted, the opposite conclusions might have been drawn; to wit, that decentralized industry is not, as yet, a major trend in rural America, and that where it has been tried it has resulted often in new and far-reaching insecurities.

The omission of systematic treatment of such crucial subjects as population, school and other institutions, and health, makes it difficult to see how this work might be regarded as a textbook in rural sociology—even if one wishes to start with a Catholic frame of reference. *Rural Roads to Security* is useful as a stimulating argument for a new but old agrarianism.

JOHN USEEM

University of South Dakota

Administering Unemployment Compensation. By R. CLYDE WHITE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Pp. xi+312. \$2.00.

Old-Age Security: Social and Financial Trends. By MARGARET GRANT. Washington: Social Science Research Council, 1939. Pp. xiii+261. \$2.50.

Unemployment Relief and the Unemployed in the San Francisco Bay Region: 1929-1934. By EMILY H. HUNTINGTON. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939. Pp. xi+106. \$1.25.

The CCC Through the Eyes of 272 Boys. By HELEN M. WALKER. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1938. Pp. 94. \$1.00.

These books set before us the findings of four researches in the general fields of relief and social security. White's work is a scholarly, comparative study of unemployment insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Three aspects of the complex schemes receive detailed treatment: the content of the laws of the three countries; the administrative organization which has been set up to carry the laws into effect; and the administrative procedure followed. At a time when the United States is endeavoring to simplify and improve its system of unemployment compensation, White's book constitutes indispensable reading for both the administrators and the students of the American system.

Those working in the field of old-age security will want to read Grant's thorough study of the non-contributory pension systems of Denmark, Great Britain, New Zealand, and Australia; and of the contributory insurance schemes of Germany, Great Britain, Czechoslovakia, and Australia. Grant shares the belief of many other students of the subject that the adoption of old-age security measures is not so much the result of personal shortcomings as it is part of the urbanization and industrialization processes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Another factor which must be noted is the persistent growth over many decades in the number and proportion of aged persons within the population. Birth and death rates are continuing to decline. Therefore, there is a strong likelihood that "in the future still heavier burdens will be thrown upon the younger age groups."

The remaining two books, although adequate from the point of view of

social and economic research, are too narrow in scope to be of general or lasting interest. Walker's book summarizes the reactions of 272 young men from the Cleveland district to their experiences in the CCC. Huntington, on the other hand, writes of the history and the social and economic characteristics of families applying for relief because of unemployment in San Francisco, Oakland, and Berkeley during the first five years of the current depression.

CHARLES G. CHAKERIAN

Connecticut College

Applicants for Work Relief: A Study of Massachusetts Families under the FERA and WPA. BY ELIZABETH W. GILHOY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940. Pp. 273. \$3.00.

This book fails to meet expectations raised by its title and yet gives more than it promises. Its core is a research monograph reporting upon the information about certain characteristics of approximately twenty-two hundred work relief cases in twenty Massachusetts communities as contained in the records of their cases in the files of the WPA in that state. The social data thus supplied must have been extremely limited. This is undoubtedly the reason for the failure of the book to answer many questions which inevitably raise themselves in the mind of the reader. The value of this study is probably chiefly in its supplying a comparison for similar analyses of groups in other sections of the country. At the same time the revealed inadequacies of the source material might well give pause to a welfare administrator so that he might review his own case records for their sufficiency.

It is in her discussions based upon general material that the author furnishes more solid substance. The chapter evaluating work relief is particularly good. That is to say, it is clear and objective as a critique. The book is annotated throughout and well indexed. Appendices not only describe the methods of the author's research but add to the tables in the text.

P. D. FLANNER

American Public Welfare Association

State Public Welfare Legislation. By ROBERT C. LOWE. Research Monograph XX, Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration. Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1939. Pp. xv+398. Free on request.

This monograph presents in tabular and digest form the basic laws underlying the public welfare programs of the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.

Emphasis is laid on "provisions for the relief of dependency," defined as "general relief, old age assistance, aid to dependent children in their own homes, blind assistance, care of dependent and neglected children by agencies and institutions, and veteran relief." The welfare of handicapped and defective persons, treatment of delinquency, and certain borderline

functions, where these are carried out by departments of public welfare, are also found within the scope of the study. The complete public welfare program of each State is summarized in an appendix which also contains excellent charts of the organizational framework in the State.

The presentation of the material—current as of January 1, 1939—is well designed to meet the needs of the student of comparative social welfare legislation on the State level. Special mention should be made of table No. 38, listing the citations to statutory provisions which form the basis for the summaries and tabular analyses.

LEONARD F. REQUA, JR.

State Department of Social Welfare
Albany, New York

Consumer Credit and Economic Stability. By ROLF NUGENT. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939. Pp. 420. \$3.00.

Nugent has addressed this volume to the general reader as well as to the social scientist. He begins by tracing the development of consumer credit and consumer credit agencies from their origin (about 1800) to the present time. Extensive tabular summaries (62 tables and four charts), many of which are for consumer credit receivables for the period 1923-1937, are made available for the first time.

The growth of consumer credit and the agencies supplying this credit has been striking, especially as business men sought additional markets, as more people had more or less stable income, and as people became more dependent on themselves in emergency periods. Illustrative of the responses to these conditions, which are both economic and sociologic, consumer credit is grouped into (1) consumer capital financing, e.g., purchase of durable goods—automobiles, radios, refrigerators; (2) consumer income financing—financing in between pay-days; (3) consumer deficit financing—emergencies such as surgical operations, unemployment, etc.

Retail merchants, who sell consumers goods on credit; service creditors, who render consumer services on credit; intermediary financing agencies, which buy contracts arising out of credit sales of goods or services; and cash lending agencies, which lend money to consumers, are shown to be the chief sources of credit and are discussed from the standpoint of the role each plays in consumer financing.

This study well analyzes the dynamic characteristics of consumer credit and indicates the possible effects of expansion and contraction of this credit in maintaining economic stability. At least one of each of the stages of the business cycle, prosperity, depression, recovery, and recession are covered in the study. The following excerpts are illustrative: "... expansion in one of these fields [consumer credit and goods going into business use] appears to have stimulated expansion in the other, and contraction in one field appears to have induced contraction in the other." And in regard to 1936 and 1937: "... fifty-seven percent of the total volume of stimulating outlays originated among public agencies [public deficit financing]. By virtue of their rapid expansion in 1936 and 1937, producers' outlays accounted

for 26 percent of the total; while consumer credit expansion accounted for 17 percent of the total."

In short, consumer credit is a factor of increasing importance in reckoning with the multi-sided question of economic stability.

OSCAR K. DIZMANG

*Whitworth College
Spokane, Washington*

Report on the Sex Question. By The Swedish Population Commission, translated from the Swedish and edited by Virginia Clay Hamilton, M.D. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1940. Pp. xiii+182. \$2.00.

Doctor Hamilton has rendered a real service to students of population by making available in English the very excellent report of the Swedish Population Commission. While this study relates itself to the Swedish situation particularly, the same transition from a rapidly growing population to one where the increase is occurring more slowly is apparent in the United States, a fact clearly shown by the recent national census. Obviously, the problems of population growth in a small homogeneous population as in Sweden are somewhat less complex than in a nation like our own with its greater area and its greater diversity of cultural patterns.

The report is presented in five parts. Part I considers the declining birth rate, the biological and psychological causes of the decline and its probable effects upon the national economy. Parts II and III consider contraception from the ethical viewpoint and also from the eugenic, medical and hygienic viewpoints. In this section the extent and nature of extra-marital relationships and the sex morality of youth in general are discussed. Part IV is devoted to an evaluation of various methods of contraception. Part V is a study of venereal disease and prostitution.

The Swedish Commission has presented in this relatively brief report a calm, objective statement of the sex question as it relates itself both to problems of population and to satisfactory family life.

W. C. WATERMAN

Brooklyn College

Methods of Rehabilitation of Adult Prostitutes. By the ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL QUESTIONS, LEAGUE OF NATIONS. Geneva: League of Nations Publications, 1939. Pp. 157. \$.80.

Prostitutes can seldom be rehabilitated unless they voluntarily seek aid, and few adult prostitutes seek aid even in towns where licensed houses are eliminated. Classification of prostitutes into age, mental, social, and maternity and non-maternity groups before rehabilitation efforts are begun is important.

Private agencies rather than public agencies have shown more interest and experienced more success in the rehabilitation of prostitutes, although policewomen, social service workers attached to courts and police departments, probation officers, and public assistance departments are important

factors. The prophylactorium, a public organization in Soviet Russia, claims marked success in rehabilitating former prostitutes.

Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, and private institutions have been built all over the world with the sole or partial purpose of rehabilitating prostitutes. Most institutions keep these inmates for not more than two years, although Catholic institutions shelter them for life and may allow them to take church vows.

The chief difficulties of rehabilitation are social, economic, and personal, and the greatest of these are economic.

Marriage is the most satisfactory form of rehabilitation for the few who are capable of negotiating a successful marriage, although past associates and connections often haunt such a union.

Return to homes, re-education, manual work, employment service, medical and psychiatric service, and religious training are some methods used in rehabilitation.

This book contains valuable information gathered by the League of Nations from various countries of the world, not only on rehabilitation of prostitutes but on a general understanding of the whole problem of prostitution.

DANIEL RUSSELL

Texas A. and M. College

Divorce and the American Divorce Novel, 1858-1937: A Study in Literary Reflections of Social Influences. By JAMES HARWOOD BARNETT. Philadelphia: Privately printed University of Pennsylvania thesis, 1939. Pp. 168.

There is a measure of justification for the complete calm with which the academic world accepts the publication of another doctor's thesis. The Ph.D. is something like syphilis: it often produces one-child sterility, and that one child is usually born weak. The external signs point to the early demise of the book under review; it comes to us in the gray paper cover in which theses are so often garbed for interment; and it is published by the author, which means that there will be no friendly publisher to thump the tub for it.

But these are external indications only, and anyone who reads Barnett's book will realize that it does not deserve the fate which possibly awaits it. It is a significant contribution to the sociology of literature, and it contains a good many nuggets for the student of society and an equal number for the student of literature.

The main body of the work is an analysis of fifty novels in which divorce is a central theme. Each of these novels is ably analyzed as a picture of marital interaction. In addition, Barnett uses quotations to illustrate the manner in which novels have reflected or acted upon the mores, but he does not commit himself to any single, simplistic theory which might prove untenable. Novelists are among our keenest observers of social phenomena, but, as Barnett indicates, novels can be interpreted only on the basis of

considerable other knowledge of society; they do not speak for themselves. There is an excellent historical section which provides background for subsequent interpretations. Barnett deserves the highest praise for the rich literary knowledge which he has brought to this task, as well as for his own literary skill in handling his materials.

Certain other points are worth mentioning. The book makes us realize that discussion of problems of the family in the United States has not been limited to our generation. There were divorce colonies before Reno; our family mores have been confused for some generations and the new consensus has not yet emerged. Emphasis in the divorce novel has slowly shifted from "concern over the fact of divorce, to the effects of divorce on children, to the question of alimony, and later to the problem of post-divorce adjustment." There has been a slow but definite change in the theories of divorce causation accepted by novelists. There have been a great many novels dealing with domestic discord but relatively few dealing with divorce. Barnett notes the curious fact that often indifferent novels tell us more about divorce than the better ones—because, apparently, their writers are more immediately sensitive to social and moral changes. The reviewer concurs with this opinion. There is an excellent bibliography but no index.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

The Composition of Rural Households. By W. A. ANDERSON. Ithaca: Cornell University, A.E.S. Bul. 713. Feb. 1939. Pp. 24.

In his introduction the author states that little is known accurately about the structure of families and households. This bulletin gives the facts concerning 2925 rural households, 2039 farm and 886 non-farm, in Genesee County, New York. The heterogeneity of household types is emphasized, only half the households consisting of husband and wife and children. Two significant differences between farm and non-farm households are:

1. The proportion composed of husband, wife, children and *others*, 11.5 percent of the farm and 7.5 percent of the non-farm households.
2. The proportion of *broken* families, 5.8 percent of the farm and 20.2 percent of the non-farm households.

The data are elaborately and minutely classified, percentages frequently being given for numbers so small that differences are not significant. Interpretation is conspicuous by its absence and no comparisons are made with any other data. Understanding of household types would have been facilitated by relating them to the stages of family development.

RAY E. WAKELEY

Iowa State College

Sociology. By WALTER L. WILLIGAN and JOHN J. O'CONNOR. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939. Pp. xi+387. \$2.00.

This work is avowedly and explicitly a "Catholic" sociology, and as such, is concerned not merely with presenting the content usually associated with

courses in introductory sociology, but more particularly with presenting the Catholic point of view towards society and its problems. Consequently, it will find little favor with the teacher who feels that one of the primary aims of the introductory course is that of instilling in the mind of the student an objective point of view, divested, so far as possible, of particularistic evaluations or biases. It is not within the province of a brief book review to examine the contention—shared, strangely enough, by Catholics and Marxists—that an objective social science is neither possible nor desirable. The point of view of the work results in certain curious departures and deviations, however, from what the authors of this work call “secular” sociology. Thus, probably because of the insistence upon the rationality of man, there is a complete neglect of the influence of tradition on social structure and human behavior. It is stated that the primary social bonds are justice, charity, and equity. The analysis of human motivation is based on scholastic faculty psychology. “Modern Romanticism, the secularization of marriage, and inflated standards of living, largely explain the divorce problem.” The ideal state is the corporate state, as represented by the Portugal of Salazar.

The avowed objective of this work is that of imparting “a truly Catholic conception of the individual’s role in societal processes.” Your reviewer is unable to tell how well this objective has been attained. It falls short, however, as an adequate presentation of the subject matter which the title of the work connotes to most of the readers of this journal.

J. A. NEPRASH

Franklin and Marshall College

Karl Marx. BY KARL KORSCH. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1938. Pp. 237. \$1.75.

Under three major headings, Society, Political Economy, and History, this professorial Marxist of left-wing persuasion systematizes the thought of Marx. Since the little volume is written clearly, is extensively documented and solidly sourced, it constitutes a good introductory statement. It is a worthy addition to the interesting series of “Modern Sociologists” now being issued under the general editorship of M. Ginsberg and A. Farquharson, London. Considering its overt acceptances of its own rather distinct formulations of Marx, the work is sensitively and sometimes critically performed: It is a long-fingered grip on a Marx that is fairly alive.

The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times. BY EVA MATTHEW SANFORD. New York: The Ronald Press, 1938. Pp. xii+618. \$5.00.

This is a comprehensive survey in one volume of ancient history from earliest times to the fall of the empire in the West. The author has performed her task with judgment and success. If her treatment is somewhat conventional this is probably a merit in a textbook. And for classroom purposes the value of the work is immeasurably enhanced by illustrations, well selected and well reproduced.

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